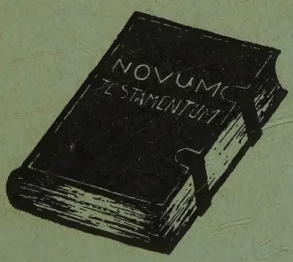
SCHWARZENAU



SUMMER NUMBER

Volume I **JULY, 1939** **Number 1**

Published by the

Alexander Mack Historical Society

3435 Van Buren Street **CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

SCHWARZENAU

A Journal of Dunker History

Published Semi-annually at Scottdale, Pa.

by the

ALEXANDER MACK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Editorial Office: 3435 Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.

The Price of Schwarzenau is One Dollar a year in the U. S. Foreign postage extra. Single copies, thirty-five cents plus postage. Subscribing members of the Alexander Mack Historical Society receive all issues of this journal of the Society. Send subscriptions or applications for membership in the Society to the Editorial Office.

SCHWARZENAU

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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

Rufus D. Bowman, B.D., D.D., is President of Bethany Biblical Seminary and member of the General Mission Board. He is one of the ablest ministers among the younger men of the Church of the Brethren and one of the best known men in her ministry. This journal, like the sparrow of the Psalm, "hath found her a house" under the roof of the Seminary. Dr. Bowman speaks as President and gives us his blessing.

Chalmer Faw, native of Washington, graduate of Laverne College and Bethany Biblical Seminary, recently received his doctorate from the University of Chicago. At present he looks forward to the mission field of Nigeria. He has been Greek teacher at B.B.S. while attending the University and has been active in peace work.

L. D. Rose, is Librarian and Professor of German at Elizabethtown College. A native of Eastern Pennsylvania and born with historical instinct Prof. Rose displays a matured talent in the field of research and writing. "Schwarzenau" is planning to add him to its staff as contributing editor.

Susie M. Thomas, would have been in China but for the Sino-Japanese war. While held from the mission field she has been studying in Bethany Biblical Seminary. The paper reproduced here represents in abridged form her thesis for the M.R.E. She holds an A.B. from Fairmount State Teachers College. Her native place? See the splendid congregational history she has given us.

Kenneth Long, minister, Church of the Brethren, has seen pastoral service. A.B. from Manchester College. B.D. of Bethany Biblical Seminary 1939. Difficult to tell whether he is from Ohio or Indiana. We have told enough to give the origin of the study printed herein but the quality speaks for itself.

F. E. Mallott, A.M., D.D., Professor of O. T. and Church History. Pastor of Church of the Brethren, Battle Creek, Michigan. Most serious concern just now is editing "Schwarzenau."

E. S. Moyer, Ph.D., minister, Church of the Brethren, writer on missionary and historical themes. Many years member of the faculty of B.B.S. and at present Librarian, Moody Bible Institute. Assistant-editor.

William M. Beahm, A.M., B.D. Professor of Christian Theology and Missions of the Seminary. Missionary to Nigeria 1924-1935. Well-known in his own right and as the scion of a family long prominent in the Church of the Brethren, we hope to present him as a frequent contributor.

Russel G. West, Pastor, Church of the Brethren, Roanoke, Va., and Miss **Lucile Sanger,** student, Bethany Biblical Seminary have collaborated to furnish the cover design of this number. Study it.

SCHWARZENAU

RUFUS D. BOWMAN
President Bethany Biblical Seminary

This is a sacred name in Brethren history. The different bodies of Brethren people all go back to "Schwarzenau." The backward look is valuable for at Schwarzenau we see the great principles that bind us together. The name wins us because of the spirit of those eight pious souls who met on the banks of the Eder. Schwarzenau was the official birthday of Brethren history. The name has become a symbol for the great first principles upon which our Church was founded: the New Testament as our rule of faith and practice, the ordinances as a means of grace, no exercise of force in religion, religious freedom even at the cost of suffering, the simple spiritual life, peace according to the spirit and teachings of Jesus. I hope some day that an artist will paint the picture of Schwarzenau with Mack and his companions at the Eder. Until that time word pictures will keep alive the sacred torch of history.

Dr. Floyd E. Mallott, head of the Church History department of Bethany Biblical Seminary is a man who believes in the destiny of the Church of the Brethren and loves her traditions. For the last few years, Dr. Mallott with a few of his companions has been dreaming dreams of the creation of a Journal of Dunker History for the preservation of historical data. This issue is the first product of these dreams. One is finding today a tremendous interest in our own church history. Our people have a rich history full of inspiration for youth, but we have been short on preserving it. Consequently, we welcome "Schwarzenau" with its clear cut purpose to print historical data and preserve Brethren history. This journal is an independent project sponsored by the Church History department of Bethany Biblical Seminary. The Seminary is in full accord with the purposes and the creation of this project and I am sure that those who are interested in Brethren history will lend encouragement to these efforts.

EDITORIAL

This first number of an historical journal is issued in hope. The Sower Bicentennial observance stirred anew and revived into discussion the latent historical interest among the spiritual descendants of Alexander Mack. In such a time of active discussion of our great heritage one feels that we need some such a medium of communication as this historical journal.

In many different places there are individuals with not only a deep interest in our own distinctive tradition of Christianity, but many possess a valuable and even a specialist's knowledge of the subject. These students of Dunker history need to be made more aware of one another.

An increasing number of good and able investigations and studies in the field of our history are being carried on. At present many of these are written in connection with academic courses to fulfill institutional requirements. Up to the present there has been no medium of publication where the results of such studies could be shared.

The difficulties confronting those who would make a contribution to our denominational literature are most discouraging. One must write a book and guarantee publication at his own expense. Many cannot do that.

There is another reason why a journal such as this is needed. A great deal of historical data is already lost. More of it is about to be lost. The pages of such a journal may serve as a repository for much information that would otherwise be lost. But of more importance than actually publishing material, we believe the mere existence of such a publication will stimulate a new respect for the records and evidences of our history. There are a few libraries whose purpose is to gather collections of all extant historical materials of our denominational family. Those responsible for such libraries need to be encouraged and there ought to be an increase of such collections of Dunkeriana.

We are glad to present in this first issue two congregational histories. The Church lives in its congregations. A few excellent con-

gregational histories have been published in our midst and these ought to serve as an incentive to others.

Every congregation ought to cultivate a pride in its own past. A people without a past has no future. Each church ought to cultivate pride in its own pioneers, its meeting houses, its achievements, and its worthy families.

Apropos of the last named item, it is the conviction of this writer that we are changing in America in our appreciation of genealogy. We Americans have been a people without ancestors. A well-known minister of the Church presented himself at a marriage-license window, for he had decided to exercise the privilege to which the Apostle referred. "What is the bride's mother's family name?" asked the representative of the Law. The bride-to-be was miles away at that moment. The bridegroom-to-be mopped his brow. The Law was courteous but specific. Finally, a bright idea. A trip to the telegraph office enlightened the bridegroom-to-be as to the name of the tribe which he was joining.

Believe it or not, but—there are intelligent Americans who are not sure of the names of their own grandparents.

It is characteristic of a pioneer people to be careless of ancestors. America is leaving pioneer days behind. We are even now beginning to develop local traditions and in places there is evident local atmosphere.

This is gain. We shall strike roots into our soil. Our lives will be more colorful and richer. We shall learn to live more wisely and more leisurely. (We better!!!) As in every old society we shall become aware of our ancestry.

This is of significance to the historian. Genealogy and religion are the bases of history. The "key" to history is a knowledge of ancestry and of religious ideas.

The Brethren have been a family people. The Church has been like Israel in one respect—it has been a cluster of superior families.

All of which is a way of saying that we view genealogical studies as within the province of this journal of history. Its pages are open to studies concerning families of Church connections.

In another part of this issue is printed the tentative constitution of the Alexander Mack Historical Society for the perusal of all readers. The present relationship between the Society and this journal might be compared to the relationship between Siamese twins. If one grows and is healthy the other does also.

There have been predecessors to this Society. As we view it they suspended because of lack of a definite task. So the A.M.H.S. has a good chance to live. Its task was born with it.

The promoters of this journal dream of a quarterly. When? When the Historical Society becomes strong enough to supplement the present privately pledged support.

Our first need is Subscribing Members. Our second need is Sustaining Members. Our third need is more members for the Alexander Mack Historical Society. F. E. M.

APOLOGIA PRO VITA SUA

F. E. Mallott

The name of this journal was not placed on the page by accident. It represents a deliberate choice. The name of that little-known German village signifies both an idea and an ideal.

It has now been more than two centuries and a quarter since a small group of earnest men and women gathered to pray in that village of Schwarzenau.

As they talked and read and prayed in their remote and quiet retreat, they were cognizant of the fierce influences of what we today call the "modern world". They had fled to Schwarzenau as refugees (how very modern) that they might preserve their own liberty from a tyrannical State. In their day the Church was in partnership with the State, and partook of its tyrannical nature.

In 1708 the modern democratic movement was just getting under way. Just twenty years before that date there had occurred in England the Revolution of 1688, and in its wake came the Bill of Rights. By common consent the Bill of Rights is a major point of historical reckoning in the western world.

In 1708 the disillusionment of thinking men everywhere had prepared the way for the revolt of The Enlightenment against organized religion. The spread of rationalism was to reduce the Organized Church to a state of weakness, such as she had known in only one other century—the awful tenth. The rise of humanitarianism with its inescapable effects for Religion had begun in 1708. As the vision of mediaeval universalism, expressed thru a World State (called an Empire) and a World Church faded from the memory of eighteenth century men they were becoming increasingly nationalist and individualist. The clash between nationalism and individualism was not seen as clearly in 1708 as in 1939. But in retrospect we can see the struggle.

It is the sameness of that day to this day which gives relevance to the words and deeds of that company who met for prayer in Schwarzenau. We are accustomed to pay oratorical tribute to them as the founders of our Household of Faith.

But our tributes are often hackneyed and but quotations from the books we have read. The genuineness of the idea developed at Schwarzenau has not been clear to us. And so its ideal has not challenged us.

There amid the beginnings of humanitarianism, humanism, political democracy, and modern nationalism that group at Schwarzenau matured their faith and took their stand. They have thrown a shaft of light across the darkened world and many of us are still walking in that light. But some who walk in it take their light too much as a matter of course and seem not to feel how dark the world-shadows are around us. Let us put the light emanating from Schwarzenau under a spectroscope and attempt a partial analysis.

The group yonder asserted the necessity of the Church. One of the commonest assumptions of today has been the irrelevance of the Church. The materialism and secularism of the age has set a style. It is so easy to drift with the spirit of the age. Even from Christian homes and Christian colleges go splendid young people who would recoil with horror from the degradations of a pagan society. For the ethical code of Christianity has been presented to them and won the assent of their reason. The sight of the practice of human slavery, the practice of witchcraft, of polygamy, or of cannibalism would rouse them to horror and to action—if these evils were presented suddenly and not gradually. Yet these same people drift

along complacently with the forces that point ultimately to the depths of pagan depravity.

The men and women of Schwarzenau had once been seceders from the Organized Church. They found the No-Church position empty and fruitless. They found themselves helpless to improve themselves or to improve others. And so they returned within the borders of organized, institutional Christianity. They constituted themselves a fellowship for their own good and their influence in the world.

While they became a part of the historical, or institutional or Constantinian Church they became a unique group within its borders. They did not lapse back quietly into conformity with the ways of the State Church about them. They became pioneers of a new conception, which re-interpreted the historical Church. It is a trick of fate that the name of their descendants has become identified as a synonym of unvarying conservatism. The men of Schwarzenau were pioneers and radicals.

To elaborate—they stood for an ideal of society so far ahead of their day that many Christians (some of whom are Dunkers) have not even glimpsed their vision. The rule of the new brotherhood was to be the Sermon on the Mount and Matthew eighteen. The men of Schwarzenau were not learned scribes neither were they theologians and philosophers. So they did not long debate the how and the when. But as earnest pietists they went to work to build the Kingdom of Goodness. They began where all improvement must begin, with themselves.

Over against the multi-form nationalism and imperialism of the modern world stands the ideal of a pacifist society founded on the teachings of Jesus and governed by His technique. At this present moment in Time, we seem to be as far as ever we were from the realization of that ideal. But was ever an age more restless? In occasional places and in individuals we glimpsed what this type of thinking will do and now we know—in that direction lies the Kingdom.

Analyzing further and under a different aspect we may say the men of Schwarzenau struck a balance between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. The eighteenth century has been named the Century of Man and by the same logic the sixteenth is one of the Centuries of God.

We need today to maintain a right balance between anthropocentric and theocentric religion. After a long period in which most of the churches of America have acted as if "God were made for man" we seem to be entering a period of theocentricism. The very violence of the reaction against the absurdity of treating God as if He were a public utility will no doubt carry us so far that the common Father of the Lord's Prayer will again be obscured.

In taking the New Testament as a text-book and manual of life the brethren at Schwarzenau struck the happy mid-ground. For the New Testament preserves both the values of theism and humanism. That type of democratic and ethical religion which grows from a study and practice of the New Testament was really needed by the world in 1708—and since.

In staking the case on the New Testament those men took advanced ground. They had never heard the words, "progressive revelation" but they had apprehended the fact of a progressive revelation. There was set in Schwarzenau the example of open-minded, fearless, and withal devout study of the Scriptures. This example needs to be followed in each generation. For in each major shift in the currents of life, new light breaks out from the Word.

And last but not least, there was struck at Schwarzenau a balance between form and spirit. Ritual or the sacramental always bulks largely in religion. Man will not long hold a philosophy in the abstract. He will make of his philosophy a religion. And a religion will clothe itself in a ritual.

Therein is the explanation of our own lukewarmness toward the New Testament symbols in some quarters. A generation without religious passion is not greatly concerned over the forms of religion. Forms arise from the necessity of expressing vital conviction. But without such conviction forms become to the traditionalist a vain bondage and to the indifferentist something to be neglected and discarded at will.

But the ardor of Pietism glowed in the souls of that group at Schwarzenau and they were touched by missionary passion. They were humble before the awful fact of the Incomprehensible Majesty and obedience to His Messiah became their watchword. Abjuring the intellectual error of secession they re-entered the Church. Therein they found their own spiritual freedom safeguarded and their soul growth directed in the New Testament symbols. These

ordinances they celebrated and propagated as the representative symbols of the new spiritual life and brotherhood as it is in Christ.

Today Christendom is permeated by a most impressive liturgical emphasis. It is interesting to observe the effects of this influence upon some of our Brethren churches. What a laborious and artificial straining after "worship" there is in some quarters. The invocation and the benediction are pronounced with the solemnity of Romish mass. The lifting of the offering is made a minor, if not indeed a major sacrament. Colored glass windows become an object of reverence and the minister acquires a "sanctified" tone of voice. This development is to be deplored for it leads straight to trivialities. Reverence becometh the house of God but so also does simplicity.

It need scarcely be said here that the opposite error is an exclusively intellectual emphasis. The church assembly is made the occasion to carry on an educational propaganda. This leads to barrenness and to empty pews.

Between these two extremes is a simple, natural, hearty congregational life in which everything is done decently and in order. The New Testament ordinances or symbols are frankly the basis and raison d'etre for the maintenance of the congregational identity. Preaching is prophetic rather than academic. Here worship is realized as a simple and natural group experience from which issues individual soul growth. The mock-solemnities of much of the current worship emphasis are not only unnecessary but may prove to be very harmful.

The type of character developed in the intelligent practice of the New Testament symbols is the guarantee of the rightness of this type of church-life. In the twentieth century we shall do well to base our church-life on apostolic precedent (our cue from Schwarzenau) as nearly as we can, until the shadows of this world-darkness give way before the light of the New Jerusalem. Then we shall need no temple for the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb shall be the temple thereof. Until such consummation we shall need very much the fellowship of the living house into which we are being built as living stones.

To the service of that living fellowship as it was visioned at Schwarzenau this journal is dedicated.

IN THE SHADOW OF MUNICH

CHALMER FAW

This article is the reproduction of an address given in Bethany Chapel in September, 1938 at a time when it seemed but a question of hours until irrevocable catastrophe would be upon us. The clarity of its reasoning and the solemnity of the hour of its delivery when personal consequences seemed not far away, make it of unusual value as a present-day statement of our Peace Position. —Editor.

In the light of this morning's screaming headlines I should like to retouch a well-known sermon text of Jesus to read, "Repent ye for the kingdom of *hell* is at hand!" Repent ye of participation, in any way, in the war system. Repent ye of slackness, of do-nothingness, for the kingdom of hell is at hand! For, whether war comes immediately or is delayed, all hell will be turned loose in that hour. The kingdom of heaven will be curtained and the stage left to the forces of hate and destruction. And if the kingdom of hell is at hand, the men of the kingdom of heaven must be ready to resist it.

"But if war can be confined to Europe . . ." we soothe ourselves in smug isolation. Small comfort this, for if and when war comes in a large scale in Europe the United States will almost certainly be drawn into it. War is man's most costly sport. The major powers of Europe would not have fought a year before our country would be the only solvent great nation on the globe. The war would be fought on American money and American credit. Then, before we could realize it and against our every avowed desire, we would be in fighting to make the world safe for the American dollar. This process of sucking the United States into war would create such a maelstrom of high-pressure propaganda in this country that even the strong among us would be swept from their feet. Democracies would give way to war-time dictatorships, and peace-time social groups would be replaced by new groups born of the demands of force.

Is there nothing that we, as Christian individuals, can do about it? In the faith that there *is* something we can do, I wish to submit a three-point program for the Christian pacifist. First, the Christian should achieve religious and philosophical clarity in his own thinking on peace. Pacifism, as I see it, is basically a religious problem, and a clean-cut mastery of the fundamentals of the philosophy of peace is indispensable. In reality each one must think

through the problem for himself and reach his own working formula. All I can do this morning on this point is to share with you some thinking which has proved useful to me. Pacifism, in its repudiation of violence as a solution to individual and national problems, has always been in danger of becoming passivism, a gradual retreat from the active scene, an abstraction into a Nirvana of restful nothingness. As its critics well contend, it often works harder to avoid strife than to right wrongs and is in danger of losing its own soul in a negative program. Not so the true philosophy of pacifism. The Christian pacifist has a fight. And that fight demands all the zeal, intelligence, and strength the individual can summon. This fight, however, is not against humans but the common enemies of human beings. This is the point on which pacifism takes issue with militarism, not on the necessity of struggle. Instead of fighting persons, whether of the same race or nation—class war—or of a foreign nation—international war—the Christian pacifist is summoned to a relentless struggle against the enemies of persons and personality the world over. On the physical level his battle is pitched against such foes of mankind as famine, disease, hunger, ravages of the elements, disasters by land, sea, or air. On the intellectual plane the enemies to be exterminated include ignorance, prejudice, superstition, and intolerance, some of which is to be found in all men, including the pacifist and his associates. On the social level the fight must be waged incessantly against the injustice, oppression, inequality, and poverty which seem especially to haunt "Christian" civilizations and implicate individuals of most enlightened background in their outreach. On the spiritual level the Christian's struggle is joined against the sin and sins of all humankind. Our wrestling is against the principalities, powers and spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenlies, those intangible foes which make such hopeless victims of us all and which thrive because we have so feebly united to fight them. Our enemies are not human beings—not Hitler or Mussolini, nor any human opponent—but our enemies are the short-sightedness, the weaknesses of soul, the poverty of social imagination and the unregeneracy of spirit which infest not only the Hitlers and the Mussolinis, but ourselves. We have a fight, but our fight is never against persons, but is the fight of all mankind against his common enemies: physical, mental, social, and spiritual. Instead of dividing persons and destroying

personalities such a struggle unites man and men in a common drive against the foes of human welfare. For, once this philosophy becomes the dominant attitude of the individual, it must, by its very socially inclusive nature, spread from him into the enlistment of his society, nation, and world in this thrilling and constructive war on the real destroyers of mankind.

Having achieved clarity in the religio-philosophical basis of pacifism, the Christian must move on to a second attainment, that of intellectual integrity and discrimination. War is made possible by lies, some of the most delightful, vengefully delicious lies known to man: lies coated with sweet hatreds and camouflaged in an imposing array of fact. Such lies are necessary before a large-scale war can be put over, for masses of peace-loving people do not easily leave their happy homes to engage in the cruel sport of bombing and plundering the homes of like peace-loving persons against whom they have neither grudge nor reason for grudge. Men must be lied to, taught to hate and hate bitterly a people whom they neither know nor dislike. They must be hoodwinked into trampling upon every moral principle incompatible with the prosecution of the war. These war-time lies are the more effective because they have behind them all the sanction of established government, the approval of the social group, and, sad to relate, very often the blessing of religion. To call these falsehoods into question has the appearance of a revolt against civil authority, the social group and religion. But the Christian pacifist can and must retain his intellectual integrity even in a crisis. The church has not always prepared him for careful discrimination, by its constant insistence upon child-like faith, often to the neglect of faith's indispensable corollary, honest doubt. Faith is not an unmixed virtue, for, shorn of all critical faculties, it lapses into gullibility and credulity. Discriminating doubt is the other side of the shield of faith. Just as one cannot believe in the one true God unless he doubts the existence of other gods, so to have faith in the ultimate triumph of righteousness one must doubt the tenets of its opposites, materialism and pessimism. The truth cannot be believed until the false is discerned and doubted. The Christian pacifist can achieve mental integrity and discrimination only at the price of clean living, careful study, and clear reflective thinking. He must keep himself informed, foreseeing and forearming himself against lying propaganda. Two among many help-

ful books for this purpose are Walter Millis' The Road To War and Abrams' Preachers Present Arms. The Christian will school himself to remember, whatever the pressure, that truth is bound to lie on both sides of a national controversy, that the use of shibboleths and slogans is not thinking but is a sell-out to the cause of the unscrupulous, that moral principles are as operative in war as in peace, and that the kingdom of heaven must be brought to earth even midst the war-time reign of hell.

The third step in the crisis preparation of the Christian pacifist is the achievement of emotional stability.

> "If you can keep your head when all about you
> are losing theirs and blaming it on you;"

if you can keep sane in the insane world which a war crisis creates; if you can remain emotionally poised amid a hate-crazed, fear-fevered people—you'll not only be a man, my son, but a Christian. The emotional problem of a war situation is, after all, one of the most crucial. If men could remain and in full possession of their powers of reason they would know how utterly foolish and irrational war is and would stoop to it under no provocation. To do this demands of the Christian pacifist a new strengthening of the inner life, a grip on reality sufficiently strong to dispel all unreality and irrationality about him. While others exhaust their energies in vengeful attacks on the human foe the Christian will spend his time and strength combatting the true enemy, war hysteria itself. The best way I know to accomplish this necessary emotional conditioning is to cultivate a three-way line of contact: back into the long sweep of history, out into a sympathetic group fellowship, and up in a close communion with the Eternal. Set in an ongoing historical process the pacifist can hold tryst with the long line of kindred spirits who are calling upon him to hold true. Sharing the fellowship and support of a closely knit contemporary group of pacifists he can dare the disapproval of all other groups if necessary in his efforts for peace. Taking time for quiet periods of meditation and the reorientation of his life in harmony with his realization of God, he will come forth blessed with a clear-eyed calm to meet the pressures of the time. Fellowship with the long succession of peacemakers of the past will create in the individual a sense of responsibility to the centuries. The shuttling between group fellowship and

private devotion will weave a fabric of under girding relationships that will make the pacifist both strong and sympathetic.

A war-crisis threatens. It is time for Christians to make special preparation for the extraordinary strains such a crisis would bring. This can be done, I believe, by achieving philosophical clarity, intellectual discrimination, and emotional stability. If the Christian learns to do this the kingdom of heaven will have already begun to come to supplant the kingdom of hell.

WHY THE EARLY GERMANS CAME TO PENNSYLVANIA

L. D. Rose

I. Introduction

The three dominant groups of people settling in Colonial Pennsylvania were the Quakers, Scotch-Irish, and the Germans. The Quakers, English and Welsh under the leadership of the great Penn, founded our metropolis and engaged in trade with the mother country across the Atlantic.

The Scotch-Irish, bold and aggressive and daring, pushed their way to the frontier, subdued the Indians, carved homes out of the wilderness, erected schools and churches, and materially modified the policies of the proprietary government.

The Germans, lovers of home and of land, loyal and religious, peace-loving and industrious, sought the fertile soil of the Atlantic plain and engaged for the most part in agriculture. They laid the foundation of successful farm life in America; and their descendants, far and wide, are still the best farmers in America. They also in part gave themselves to the textile industries, weaving in flax and wool and later in cotton, giving to America her great textile industry. Others, especially the group that had contact with the schools at Halle, gave themselves to the study of the medicinal value of plants and set up the practice of medicine. The first medical school and botanical garden in America were in Germantown. From this enterprise of German people came the founding of the great medical school of the University of Pennsylvania—the first in America.

Nor were these Germans neglectful of the religious obligations that rest upon all people. They brought here a fine devotion to the things of the Spirit and set up in houses, barns and cabins, temples of worship to Almighty God.

At least seven distinct faiths were represented in this German migration—the Lutherans, the German Reformed, the Mennonites, the Moravians, the Schwenkfelders, the Brethren and the Seventh-Day Baptists.[1]

It is a fact that the first German immigrants to set foot on American soil came to Pennsylvania. It is also a fact that most of the German immigrants who came to colonial America entered through the port of Philadelphia. Why are both of these statements historical facts?

It is true that in Pennsylvania the modes of thought have persisted stronger among the descendants of the early Germans than in any other state; in other words the "Ideengang" has been subject to less change in Pennsylvania. It is also true that the whole viewpoint of life or "Weltanschauung" is more distinctly German in Pennsylvania than in any other state. Again, why are these statements true?

Recently the writer received a copy of "Unsere Heimat", a German magazine published in the Palatinate. Now the Palatinate is that beautiful section of southwest Germany dear to the heart of every student of Pennsylvania German history. It is the section from which the first immigrants came to America. In this magazine there is an article in dialect about a lady traveling to Philadelphia by rail with her mischievous boy. The youngster was a constant pest; entreaties in the choicest English were of no avail. Only a few words that showed "Die Macht der Muttersproch" were necessary to calm the youngster.[2]

In the same magazine there is also an article about "Das Brauchen in Pennsylvanien". Here are given verses gegen Verbluten, Kopfweh, Gift, Wildfeier, Kolik, Owachse and other ailments.[3] Without raising any question at all about the merits or demerits of powwowing, the question must be raised in all sincerity why two articles about Pennsylvania should appear in a German magazine.

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1. Brumbaugh, M. G., *An Outline for Historical Romance Proceedings,* Pennsylvania German Society, Norristown, Pa., 1928, pp. 5, 6.
2. "Unsere Heimat," *Kaiserslautern,* August, 1937, p. 334.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 328.

From Pennsylvania German Colonists settled in New York, Maryland, Virginia and other states. However, we never speak of Maryland German, Virginia German or any other type of German. Why only the term Pennsylvania German?

Last summer a Rotarian from this county toured Europe. In his travels he met a number of men in Berlin whose names he recorded on slips of paper. On his return he was invited to address the Elizabethtown Rotary Club. During the course of his address he passed around the slips of paper to men of the same name he had met in Berlin. Our fellow Rotarian could have done the same had he secured names from any other city in Germany. Furthermore, he could have found names to match in any village or city in any German community in the country.

Only a casual inquiry among the members of the faculty and student body of this institution would reveal a number of German names. In many instances it might be easy to trace lineage to the Fatherland.

In this paper a number of questions have been raised. These questions cannot be answered in a sentence or two. To attempt an adequate answer it will be necessary in a series of discussions to explore the devastating influences of the Thirty Years' War on German culture; a rather detailed study of the pietistic movement must be undertaken; and finally, there must be a resume of William Penn's missionary travels in Germany before he came to Pennsylvania October 27, 1682.

II. The Thirty Years' War

The seventeenth century was a period of turmoil. To Germany it meant the horrors of the Thirty Years' War and its terrible consequences. The war was primarily a religious war and was waged with the bitterness of such wars, but at the same time political questions were interwoven with the religious question, with the consequence that the armies, considering themselves as their master's retainers rather than champions of a cause, plundered and burned everywhere, military violence being in no way restrained by expediency.[1] The war began in 1618 in Bohemia when the Protestant princes refused to elect Ferdinand, a Catholic, to the vacant throne and ended with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The war pro-

1. *Encyclopedia Britannica,* (11th ed., 1911) vol. XXVI, p. 852.

duced several famous heroes: Tilly, Gustavus Adolphus, the Piccolomini and Wallenstein. The last two form the theme of Schiller's trilogy which is usually considered his masterpiece: Wallenstein's Lager, Die Piccolomini, Wallenstein's Tod.

Other countries involved in the struggle at various times were Sweden, Denmark, Holland, England, Spain, Italy and France. Of these brief mention will be made only of France because of its importance for future discussions. When the war began Richelieu was the French premier. He propounded the doctrine that all territory west of the Rhine originally belonged to France. Hence the boundary line should be moved eastward. This doctrine stands in direct contradiction to the doctrine of Ernst Moritz Arndt as inscribed on a monument to his honor on the bank of the Rhine at Bonn: "Der Rhein ist Deutschlands Strom, nicht Deutschlands Grenze." (The Rhine is Germany's river, not Germany's boundary.)

Soon after the close of the war Louis XIV ascended the French throne. He regarded war as a fixed and permanent factor of civilization. In his study of history he arrived at the conclusion that the greatest glory had always fallen to the world's warriors and conquerors. Hence it is not surprising that he was almost continually at war for over half a century and that he sought domination of Europe by arms.[2] How the pious, unassuming people of the Palatinate fared at his hands will be recounted later.

During the war very few pitched battles were fought. The armies were usually on the march. The coming of an army with its mob of camp followers meant ruin to any region. The country-side had to furnish wood, straw, food and fodder. The camp followers wandered around plundering and stealing everything of value.[3]

Johannes Herberle, a Swabian peasant, recorded in his diary: "Gott lob und Dank wir sind diesmal noch gern geflohen weil es die letzte Flucht war, die 29. oder ungefähr die 30."[4] (God be praised we gladly fled this time because it was our last flight, the 29th or possibly the 30th.)

The fate of the cities was only a little less severe. Often a city

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2. Hazen, Charles Downer, *Modern Europe*, p. 28. New York, Henry Holt & Co. 1920.

3. Kuhns, Oscar, *German and Swiss Settlements of Pennsylvania*, p. 3. New York, Henry Holt & Co. 1914.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 5, footnote.

was ransomed at great expense. If a city was captured, the conquerors cut down the men in masses, dishonored the women, and destroyed everything on which they could lay their hands.

Volumes could be written about the economic and political losses of Germany as a result of the Thirty Years' War. However, these losses have to do with the outer life of man and in these discussions the dominant theme is the inner life of man. Spiritual and moral losses are equally important but more intangible. A whole generation had grown up in Germany without schools, without the ministrations of religion and without the civilizing influence of gaining a livelihood by means of industry and sobriety. Alles wert war vernichtet. (Everything of value had been annihilated.) Gradually the churches had been plundered and destroyed. The clergy had been killed and driven off, so that religious life was practically at a standstill.[5] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Germany had shared with Italy the leadership of the intellectual world; in the seventeenth she was thrown into a state of semi-barbarism. Alles wert war vernichtet. When her neighbors were developing their languages into flexible instruments of literary expression, Germany had to retain a cumbersome vernacular, so distasteful to her educated men that even in the eighteenth century Frederick the Great always wrote in French in preference to German.[6]

During the Thirty Years' War Germany produced no great men who made substantial contributions to the world stream of culture. No renowned thinkers, scientists, historians, musicians. The flower of German youth had been sacrificed to the ravages of war. Leibniz, mathematician and philosopher, was born two years before the close of the war, Bach and Händel, names too well known to require explanation, a generation after the war, Kant and Lessing three quarters of a century after the war, Goethe, Germany's greatest genius and one of the world's four, a century after the war. Germany did not regain her usual stride in the realm of the spirit until at least 125 years after the close of the Thirty Years' War.

There is however, a sphere of activity that must be examined here; in fact, it must be emphasized because of its relation to future issues that will arise. Although the religious life of Germany had

5. Hayes, Carlton J. H., *Political and Cultural History of Europe* vol. I, p. 322. New York, Macmillan. 1932.

6. Ogg, David, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century,* p. 169. London, A. & C. Black. 1925.

been disrupted and had been practically at a standstill, yet there were men, devoted to the highest interests of mankind, who made a permanent contribution in their realm. This contribution is the German hymn.

The hymnody of Protestant Germany is the richest in Christendom. By 1820 it was known to include more than 80,000 hymns of varying merit. In word and melody many of the German hymns have their origin in the Thirty Years' War and the generation following. These hymns go to the very rock bottom of human experience. The Oberammergau Passion Play, with its fine music and religious drama, also dates from this period. These creations of the spirit form an enduring monument to creative German genius. The earliest hymns of the Reformation were those of the Bohemian Brethren or Moravians, of which a collection of 89 was printed at Prague in 1501, and another of about 400, in 1505; but these were so effectually suppressed that only one imperfect copy of the former is known to exist, and none of the latter. For practical purposes the history of modern hymnody begins with the publication in 1524 at Erfurt and Wittenberg respectively, of two small books of German hymns, in each of which about three-fourths of the contents were from the pen of Luther. Many of these hymns are still in more or less common use.[7]

At first, German hymns are neither didactic nor retrospective but natural, cordial, and fearless, and at once popular and churchly. Gradually there is a transition toward the subjective style of later times, with the introduction of references to personal circumstances and didactic matter. The Psalms now become the model and type; prominence is given to personal matters; brevity and terseness give place to enlargement of thought. During the Thirty Years' War, hymns assume more and more of a subjective character. "Der Deutsche steigt in sich hinein". (The German descends into himself.) The objective features tend to disappear, while hymns relating to various circumstances and events in life—as suffering, consolation, death, the family, etc.,—become more numerous. There is often a tendency to excessive length, a common characteristic of meditative verse.[8]

The chief singer of this generation—in the judgment of many

7. Hastings, James (Editor), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 7, p. 28 ff. "Hymns" (Modern Christian) by T. G. Crippen. New York, Scribner. 1926.
8. *Ibid.*

the greatest of all German hymnists—is Paul Gerhardt (1607-76). Foremost among his 120 hymns is the incomparable "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" and not far behind it comes the ever popular "Befiehl du meine Wege" and "Ist Gott für mich so tretc gleich alles wider mich". To the same period belong Johannes Heermann, (1585-1647), "O Gott, du frommer Gott," Martin Rinckhart, (1586-1649), "Nun danket alle Gott," Georg Neumark (1621-81), "Wer nun den lieben Gott lässt walten" and Joachim Neander (1650-80), "Lobe den Herrn den mächtigen König der Ehren".[9] These hymns have a decided subjective, contemplative character which is also one of the characteristics of the pietistic movement in Germany.

SEMI-CENTENNIAL, WALNUT GROVE MEETING HOUSE

Elgin S. Moyer

This paper was read at the Semi-Centennial observance held in the Silver Creek Congregation Oct. 2, 1938. The writer is our assistant-editor. He was called back to the old home congregation to participate in this celebration.—Editor.

The Silver Creek congregation with its two meeting places, the Hickory Grove and Walnut Grove houses, is a scion of the Lick Creek church which now comprises the southern part of Williams County, Ohio. The Lick Creek congregation was organized in 1845 and the church house was built in 1870. The Brethren of the Lick Creek church, like the Brethren in many other congregations, were interested in preaching the Word not only at their central meeting place but also at outlying points. Thus quite early in their history they were conducting preaching services in schoolhouses and in other church houses in the northern part of Williams County, Ohio, and in the southern edge of Hillsdale County, Michigan.

As time wore on the membership in the northern part of the Lick Creek territory increased sufficiently to organize a new congrega-

9. *Ibid.*

tion. Thus in 1874 the Silver Creek church was organized with the following eighty-four charter members:

Peter Baker and wife
Nathan Bohner and wife
Jacob Bollinger and wife
Brother Clark and wife
John Conley and wife
George Copeland and wife
Jacob Couts and wife
William Finicle and wife
Brother Freed and wife
Frederick Greek and wife
Martin Hoke and wife
Jacob Keiser and wife
John Keiser and wife
Adam Kimmel and wife
Jacob Kinsey and wife
John Kinsey and wife
George Kurtz and wife
Samuel Landis and wife
William Lehman and wife
Jesse Long and wife
John Mahler and wife
David Martin and wife
Brother Matthas and wife
Joseph Moore and wife
Washington Moyer and wife
Abraham Reppard and wife
Christian Rittenhouse and wife
David Rittenhouse and wife
Eli Rittenhouse and wife
Samuel Rittenhouse and wife
Jacob Shaneour and wife
Edward Smith and wife
John Stoner and wife
George Throne and wife
Henry Throne and wife
John Wallace and wife

Lemuel Yocum and wife
Josiah Blair
Athelenda (Ethelinda?) Bollinger
Nancy Burkholder
Fortunatis Clark
Sister Culbertson
Catherine Justin
Hannah Rittenhouse
Sister Underwood
John Wallace
Susie Wallace

For a few years council meetings were held in the homes of the members while communion services were conducted in barns. At the time of the organization of the church there were residing within the bounds of the new congregation three ministers, Joseph Moore, David Rittenhouse, and Jacob Shaneour; and eight deacons, John Keiser, John Mahler, John Martin, Abraham Reppard, Christian Rittenhouse, Eli Rittenhouse, Henry Throne, and Lemuel Yocum. John Brown of the Lick Creek church was chosen as elder in charge of the new congregation. Just a few months later, the same year, B. F. Sholty, a minister, moved into the congregation.

On the day of the organization of the church, Jesse Long was called to the ministry, and Jacob Miller and John Lehman were elected deacons. In 1879 the church decided to ordain to the eldership one of its own number. As the election resulted in a tie vote for David Rittenhouse and Jacob Shaneour, these two brethren were given joint oversight of the church.

In 1878 the first church house was built two and one half miles southeast of Pioneer. Being located within a clump of hickory trees, it became known as the Hickory Grove meeting house. When this congregation was organized it comprised and comprises today the extreme northwest congregation of the District of Northwestern Ohio.

Before the building of the Hickory Grove house, however, the Brethren were holding meetings in the eastern part of what is today the Silver Creek congregation. Services were being held in schoolhouses, in a union church north of Primrose, and in a Universalist

church midway between Primrose and the present site of the Walnut Grove house. The Brethren seem to have been holding biweekly services in the Universalist house for quite some time prior to 1878, the time of the building of the Hickory Grove house. This practice came within the privilege granted by the Declaration of Principles of the Universalist church, dated December 29, 1863, which says that the house that was soon to be erected "shall be open for the use of all religious denominations, when not occupied by the one who has it in control."

The Universalists organized their society at Primrose in January, 1864, with a charter membership of twenty-five and built their house of worship shortly after. The growth of their church, however, was so meagre that before many years they found themselves unable longer to finance the church or to carry on their services. They finally leased their property to the Brethren for a period of ninety-nine years. Under these arrangements the Brethren held preaching services here regularly for perhaps six or eight years and conducted a Sunday school here at least a part of the time.

Some of the Brethren, realizing that that house was too small for their growing membership, which numbered perhaps forty in this part of the congregation, were urging that a new and more commodious house be built. In September, 1886, the Silver Creek church in council discussed the matter and appointed Jacob Miller and Samuel Landis to ascertain how much money might be raised for this purpose. But at the next meeting in December, the church decided to drop the project for the time being. At this meeting it was decided to raise funds to build horse and buggy sheds for the Hickory Grove church grounds instead.

A year later another committee, consisting of Lemuel Yocum, H. W. Moyer, Noah Long and Jacob Rockey was appointed to raise funds for the Primrose meeting house. At a special council meeting in October, 1887, it being reported that $722 had been raised, the church decided to make plans for building, and appointed Jacob Miller as chairman of the building committee. In January H. W. Moyer was elected treasurer of this special building fund.

Since the church had taken this action and knowing the desire of the church to have a house of worship near the church's burying ground, H. W. Moyer gave a new plot of ground for the site of the church. This plot lies about eighty rods south of Primrose.

The transaction was dated January 17, and the deed was recorded May 1, 1888. In 1884 he had given the adjoining plot for the cemetery. The first person to be buried in this new cemetery was Daniel Marks in 1888.

With a plot of ground for cemetery and another for a church site belonging to the church, the members in this part of the Silver Creek territory urged that the church soon be built.

Early in 1888 the subscription sum had grown to about two thousand dollars. With this amount and with the timber and stone that was donated by members and other neighbors, further plans for building were soon under way. Stone had been hauled by sled the previous winter from Noah Long's place five miles north and one and one half miles west of Pioneer. In the spring of 1888 the work of building was begun with George Mahler, a minister, and Jacob Miller, a deacon, as head carpenters and George Miller, George Keiser and Anthony Pickens as helpers.

The trustees of the church whose duty it was to supervise the planning and construction of the building were Jacob Miller, Samuel Landis and Lemuel Yocum, all deacons in the church.

The building was completed by midsummer. We find in the diary of my father, Mahlon Moyer, the following entry for Aug. 8, 1888, "Church raising today. I was up awhile in the A. M. and also in the P. M. Got thru about 4 p. m. Perhaps 90 men present. Everything went together pretty nicely. Got all rafters up. Had basket dinner in our barn. About 200 persons ate dinner. Had a nice table set. Everything passed off nicely."

On Sunday, Nov. 11, 1888, the house was dedicated. Father made the following record in his diary, "Weather cool and pleasant. Roads muddy. We all attended dedication of the Walnut Grove Church at Primrose, 10:30 a. m. Addressed by Elder J. C. Murray of North Manchester, Indiana. The earth and the fulness thereof were created for the purpose of man. Man was created for the purpose of God. Are we serving his purpose as we should? Had an able sermon. House well filled, some had to stand. Brother Murray used as his text John 5:2. He impressed his audience with the importance of dedicating themselves to God and his service."

Following the dedication service on November 11, a revival meeting was begun by Elder Murray and continued until November 25, resulting in one accession to the church.

It may be in point here to mention that the little meeting house that had been owned by the Universalists and leased to the Brethren was purchased by grandfather Moyer in 1888 or 1889 for the sum of twenty-four or twenty-five dollars. The building was razed to the ground and the lumber was used in farm buildings.

These two meeting houses, in true Dunker fashion, were named after some of nature's own handiwork. The new church was called Walnut Grove house, receiving its name from the small grove of black and white walnut trees growing on the Moyer farm a few rods south of the church. As has been mentioned the west house was built in a clump of hickory trees, and became known as the Hickory Grove house.

The Walnut Grove house has been the meeting place for a minority of the congregation, but in its regular Sunday school, weekly or bi-weekly preaching services, annual revival, and its prayer meeting thru the years, it has had a vital place in the life of the congregation, and has had no small influence in the life of the community. Although it is less than five miles distant from the Hickory Grove house, in the days of horse and buggy and muddy roads, this distance made it difficult for members to get to church and was a barrier in reaching the more or less disinterested non-members for Christ and the church. Thus many have become interested in the church and have become followers of the Lord Jesus, who otherwise perhaps would never have been reached for the Kingdom.

This church house was not built to accommodate love feast occasions. The communion services and council meetings have always been held in the Hickory Grove house which is more nearly in the center of the entire congregation.

Nearly every year since the house was built, revival meetings have been held here; and even before the present house was built, Sunday school was carried on. In the earlier years the Sunday school was closed during winter months; but before many years this little church was able to report an "evergreen" Sunday school, that is a Sunday school carried on the year round.

During the whole or a part of the last twelve years of the nineteenth century, being the period that this brief history covers, there were in the Silver Creek church ten ministers and one other who died the preceding December. Following is the list:

Jacob Shaneour, in the ministry before 1874, died December, 1887, Elder 1879; Joseph Moore, in the ministry 1864 to 1890, Elder, 1888; David Rittenhouse, in the ministry before 1874 to 1914, Elder 1879; Jesse Long, in the ministry from 1874 to 1905; B. F. Sholty, in the ministry before 1874 to 1904, Elder 1888, and served as elder in charge from this time until his death; Jacob W. Keiser, in the ministry from 1891 to about 1934, Elder, 1898, being elder in charge for more than twenty years following 1904; George Mahler, in the ministry from 1883 to 1913; Eli M. Rittenhouse, in the ministry from 1883 to 1919; John Mark, in the ministry from 1886 to 1915; Alfred Throne and William St. John, called to the ministry in 1898.

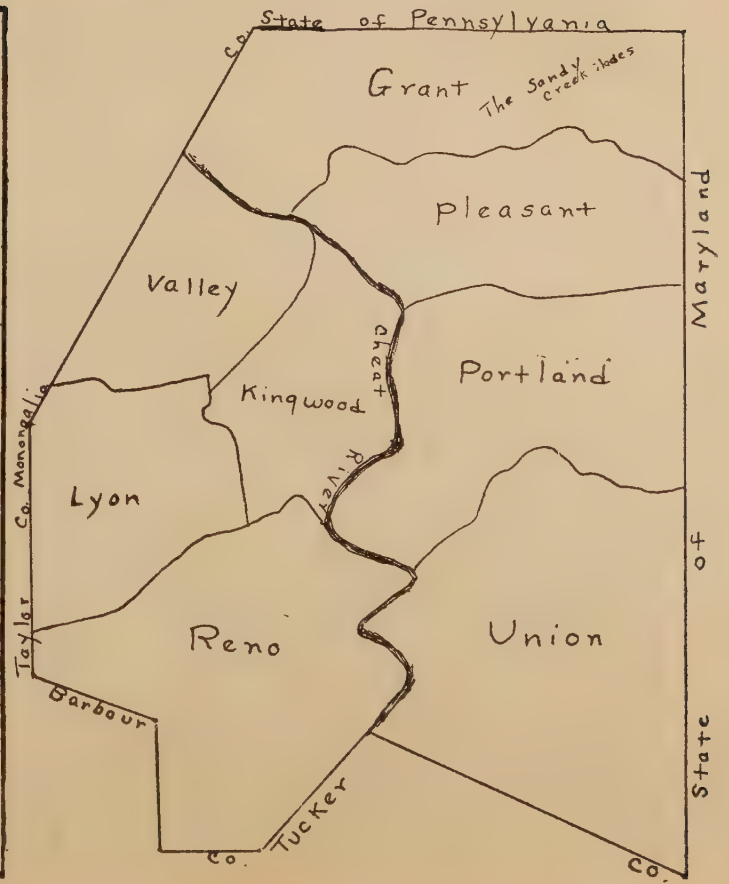
Of these eleven ministers, three lived within the bounds of the Walnut Grove territory, at the time of the building of the house in 1888, namely, Jacob Shaneour, Jacob W. Keiser, Eli M. Rittenhouse.

The following people who were members of the Silver Creek church, living in the Walnut Grove territory, at the time of the building of the house, are still living: Mary Sampson, Samuel and Rachel Miller, John Keiser and Dora Winters.

The members living within the bounds of the Walnut Grove territory have always loyally and faithfully supported the work of the local branch, and have borne their share of the congregational, district and general budgets. In the main, peace and Christian fellowship have always existed among the members, and the work of the Kingdom has been a joy and a pleasure for the members of this little church. This little band of God's children thru the years has had a wholesome influence upon the community, and has again and again had the joy of taking into its fold those from among the unsaved of the neighborhood.

West Virginia—Location of Preston County

Map of Preston County, Showing the Districts



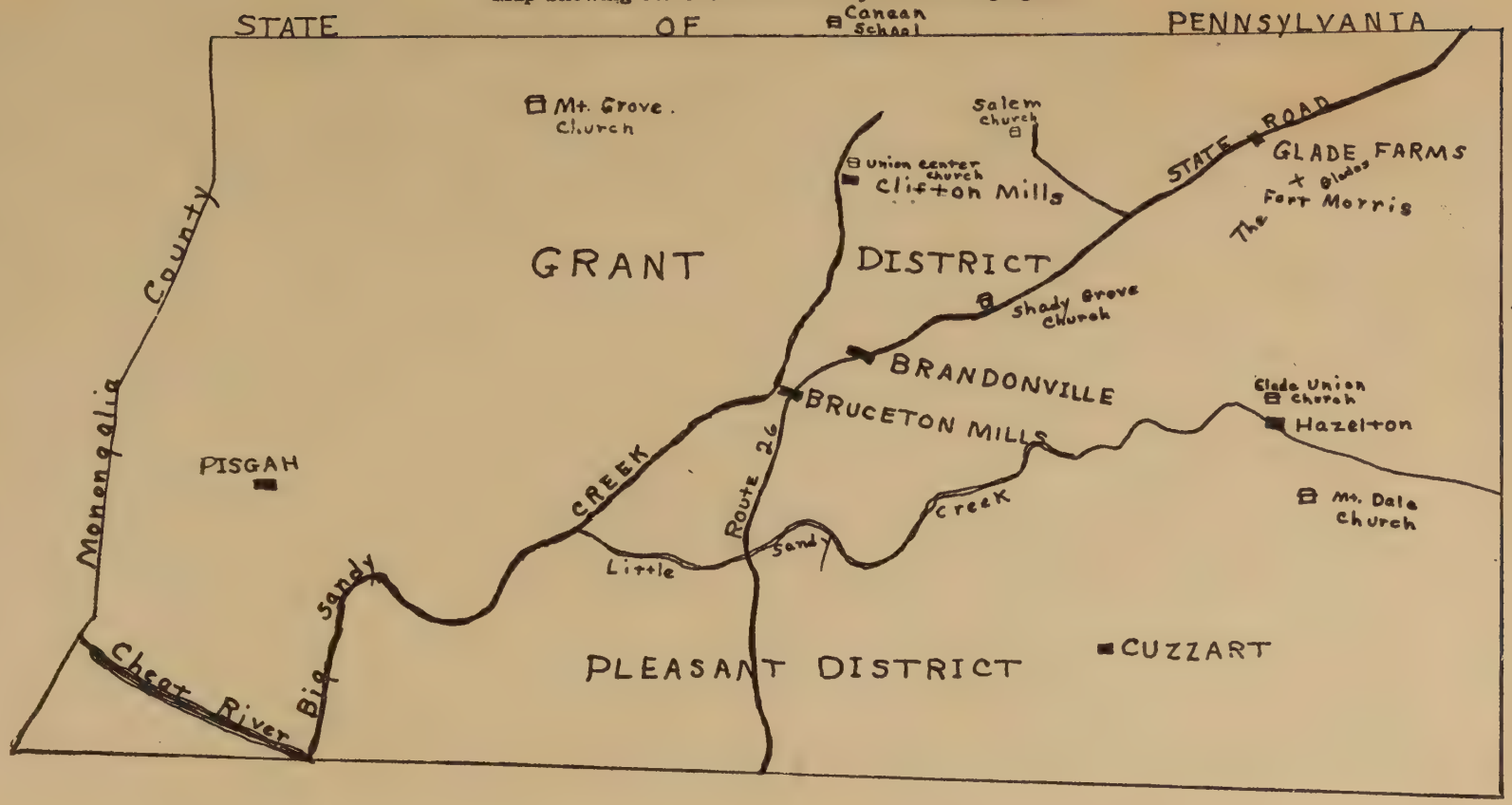
Hickory Grove Meeting House, Silver Creek Congregation
District of N. W. Ohio

Walnut Grove Meeting House, Silver Creek Congregation
District of N. W. Ohio

Mountain Dale Meeting House, Sandy Creek Congregation
First District of West Virginia

Salem Meeting House, Sandy Creek Congregation
First District of West Virginia

Map Showing the Churches in Sandy Creek Congregation



HISTORY OF SANDY CREEK CONGREGATION, FIRST DISTRICT OF WEST VIRGINIA

Susie M. Thomas

CHAPTER I

Life During the Early Days of Preston County

To grasp the importance of the early church in Sandy Creek Congregation an understanding of life in the early days of Preston County is of much help. The life of the people a few years prior to the organization of the Congregation may be described as follows:

The people were of Welsh, German, and Scotch-Irish descent. They lived in the older and more developed half of northern Preston County. Sometimes the farms had been cleared by the fathers before them. A local spirit had arisen.

To use a single home as an example it would be somewhat as follows. It was composed of the father and mother, four living sons and four daughters of assorted sizes. An older girl died in early womanhood and two boys passed away in childhood. All the living children were still at home except the oldest daughter. The parents would have been very much surprised if they would have been asked, "Is your daughter a clerk or a teacher?" She was a wife and mother and lived in the settlement.

To approach the home from the country road, a half mile of timber was passed through in which there was scarcely one tree missing. The squirrels, rabbits and feathered denizens of the forest were in great numbers. The public road was so narrow that one wagon could pass another only with great inconvenience. It was used more often by a man on horseback than by one in a noisy wagon of the period. It was variegated with rocks, stumps, and mudholes. The streams were without bridges and a man using his own locomotion had to either find a couple rails or pull off his footgear and wade through the waters.

The home was made of hewed logs. A crowd of men gathered from an eight-mile radius and put up the walls in a single day. The chinks were filled by small flat stones, held in place by a plastering of reddish clay that gave the walls the color of ochre. From one

end of the roof projected a massive inside chimney of unhewn stone. The ends of a row of joists projecting below the eaves, and an opening in each gable were the only evidence of an upper story.

One of the low rooms was lighted after a fashion by a half window containing six panes of glass, the size of a pane being 8 x 10 inches. The other room was lighted only when a shutter was opened. Below were three windows supplying two rooms. The sashes of the lower windows were of unequal size, there being nine lights in the lower ones and three in the upper. One sash was raised being held up by a stick.

The cleated entrance door was furnished with very long strap hinges forged by the neighborhood blacksmith. Those of the door in the board partition were of the same material but smaller in size. There were scarcely more than two handfuls of nails in the whole house. The reason is evident from the following.

> An inducement to the free use of wooden pegs lay in the fact that iron was ten cents a pound, even before it was slowly wrought into hand-made nails and hinges.[1]

The floors and partitions were of broad poplar boards which were unevenly sawed by an up and down saw driven by an overshot waterwheel. By use of the adze, however, the floors were made quite level. The strong arms of the owner and his friends supplied nearly all of the materials as well as the labor.

> It was no child's play to raise a heavy log. It took four men at each end and one in the middle. The ends had to be kept level to prevent a slipping, and perhaps a resulting accident. Even the roof, of riven clapboards, had to be held in place by heavy-weight poles, with their accompaniment of eve-bearers, ribs and knees. But since this help was gratuitous, save when it was returned in kind, the outlay in cash for materials was very small.[2]

The larger apartment of the lower division was kitchen, dining room and living room, all in one. All the rooms on the first floor were unfinished. The wall logs were in full view as were also the hewn joists over head. The large fireplace required much wood to fill it. It would have taken less labor to have dug black diamonds from the hillside, but the housekeepers regarded it intolerably dirty for domestic use.

There were no matches and the fire was started with a piece of maple punk, a piece of tow, and a few grains of powder. Later a

1. Morton, Oren F., *History of Preston Co.*, Part I, p. 110.
2. Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 111.

device came in as a substitute. It was a little oblong tin box with two partitions. In the larger of these were some punk and tow, and also a flint and a long cord. In the top of the smaller partition was a brass wheel an inch and a half in diameter, with teeth like a clock wheel. The cord was wound around the pin, on which the wheel freely revolved, and the flint was placed in position. There was a quick jerk on the cord, and the wheel rotated too rapidly for the teeth to be distinguished, and a shower of sparks fell from the flint upon the combustibles below.

The bedstead was massive and high with a network of creaking cords upholding the feather-ticks, which were hidden by a home-made coverlet. At the foot of the bed was the ladder leading to the upper rooms. At the top of the ladder were two broad, low chambers, looking very bare except for the beds, of which there were two or three in each room, the pile of extra bedding stacked on the floor, the big hardwood chest and a considerable quantity of wearing apparel dangling from pegs. Limited as was the house room and large as was the family, there was always a place over night for not only one guest, but more than one.

Preparations for dinner were made in quite a different way to what they are made in our modern age.

> Close before the fire is a smooth, semi-carbonized board, on which lies a browning johnny cake. The housewife proceeds to turn it, so that the under side may get done. A pot simmering above a bed of coals contains bacon and vegetables. In another, hot water is bubbling.[3]

The husband would not have been true to the usage of the community if he would not have insisted on the guests breaking bread with him.

> So we sit down to a bountiful repast of corn-bread, garden beans, potatoes, bacon, berries, spicewood tea, rye, coffee, and milk. If it were Sunday, a loaf of white bread and plump pie would grace the table, although the wheat loaf is not quite relished by some of the household. If it were later in the year, there would be a dish of apple-butter and another of stewed dried apples or berries. But there are no jellies, and no dish of fruit from a glass jar, the process of airtight canning being yet to come into vogue. "Store tea" and "store coffee" are great rarities on this table. As for rice, macaroni, or a dessert of bananas, we would never see such articles on John's table from the beginning of a year to its end. But during the colder months we would

3. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

see venison, wild turkey, or pheasant, and perhaps bear meat or else some fish. The bill of fare is almost strictly a product of these hills.[4]

The dishes were meager in variety and very plain in pattern. There were wooden and pewter spoons and wooden and common earthenware utensils. In the dooryard was a Dutch oven. It was built of stones. A fire was made in it and after the wood was reduced to coals the embers were cleared away and the loaves of wheat dough were put in. The heat that passed into the stonework assured the baking.

Not far from the house was a log barn. The roof was covered with rye straw bound with hickory withes. The spaces between the logs were wide and not generally chinked.

There were many chestnuts and a sugar camp was made each year. Here was made all the sugar used at the house except for some honey from the hives which supplemented it. The surplus of maple sugar was sent to market over the National Road. There were no galvanized sap-spouts and sap-buckets, and no modern hives, for the bees. A concern of straw, or a section of a hollow log answered for hives.

Stumps were quite gone from the old clearings, but there were plenty in the new ones. The virgin fertility of the former was much impaired. The opinion was still held that a field was to be considered good for so many crops, and then thrown out of active use in favor of a new clearing. So long as new fields could be tilled there was little thought of keeping up the fertility of the older ones. The surface of the small tilled area was scratched with a wooden plow, which was liable to "ball up". There was a wooden-toothed harrow for heavy work, but the grain crop was brushed in with a bush harrow. The corn-field and the potato patch were given their chance against the weeds by means of the hoe, every grown and partially grown member of the family taking part in the crusade.

The grain was reaped with a sickle. The expert reaper brought his narrow crescent blade close to the fingers that were grasping the handful of wheat or oats straw, and the left hand sometimes bore the scars of more than one miscalculation. Threshing was done with the flail. Twelve to fifteen bushels of grain were threshed a day not including the time spent in winnowing away the chaff. Portions of corn, wheat, and buckwheat were taken to some water

4. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

mill, and there ground into flour or meal. Now and then the hand-mill was still used.

The acre of flax that was annually grown was as necessary as the other crops that were grown. Cotton in bulk was almost a curiosity. The distance to where any could be obtained was far and the price was almost prohibitive for the lean pocket books of the people.

By much hard labor and no little skill, and with almost no outlay in ready money, flax fiber and wool were produced and turned into cloth of which the family clothing, bedding, and the grain sacks were made.

A brown color was given to the new cloth by a cold solution of walnut hulls, but if a black was desired the liquid was boiled. Madder, a plant, gave a red color, maple a green, and hickory a yellow color to the cloth.

The process for preparing the flax is described as follows:

> The pulling, retting, breaking, swingling, and scutching of the flax consumes much time, and the swingling is dusty work. After the pulled stalks have become soft, as well as ill-smelling from retting in the damp, they are broken by blows from a wooden knife, and the tow is separated from the splintered bark by passing through sets of steel blades in the hackling boards. The fiber is boiled in lye to soften it . . . . The spinner is paid either by the clip or skein. The grades of the linen are the "pure linen", the tow linen, and the flax linen, the second has a tow woof, and the third a tow woof also, but coarser. Bleaching takes place on the grass. The sensation produced by putting on a new shirt of the coarser grades is compared by the boys to being rubbed with chestnut burrs. So it is the practice to beat the linen with clubs to break down the irritating "shivs," or to draw the shirt of torture back and forth over a smooth rail.

The tenth of May was the conventional date for donning the summer's linen. When a warmer cloth was needed, it was found in the combination of wool and linen, known as linsey woolsey.

Potatoes did not arrive until near the fall season. The garden yielded a smaller variety of vegetables than present day gardens, yet was more prominent with respect to savory herbs. There were some flowers and ornamental plants, among them a few tomatoes, known as Jerusalem apples, beautiful fruit not being supposed to be put into the mouth for it was thought they were poison.

A heavy beam, with one end anchored in a large oak, supplied the squeezing power for separating apple juice from the pomace. Apples were wanted for cider as much as for other purposes. Fruit

trees were set out soon after the arrival of the settler. In any but unfavorable seasons there was an abundant supply of apples, peaches, pears, plums, and cherries, a large share of the apples finding their way to the big copper kettle where the sliced fruit emerged as apple-butter. Some were dried for winter use and also a quantity of blackberries from the old clearings.

Very nearly everything worn or eaten by the settler and his large family was produced on the farm. Whatever the family needed could usually be had either by exchange of work or barter. At the store, he could sometimes get rid of a few pounds of butter or a few dozen of eggs, yet the price of the former was only six cents a pound and the latter only three cents a dozen.

The nearest neighbor was at least a third of a mile down the run. There were a few people in the community who had a horror of over exertion, and lived a meager existence.

In the settlement across the creek were so many people of German birth or ancestry that the family records were written in the German Bibles, and some instruction was given through the medium of the German tongue. The older people did not converse in English with much freedom.

A wedding was a great social event, and was followed by the infare at the home of the groom's father. A party went forth to meet the bridal group. The leaders on each side then galloped to the house, the one who arrived first received a bottle of liquor, which was immediately passed around with entire impartiality. A sequel to the infare was the inevitable serenade. The wedding festivities were not likely to pass off without some very coarse jokes.

In the weekday social gatherings utility was nearly always a feature. There were "frolics" galore. Every little while there was a clearing of new land, a log rolling, a corn husking, a wheat harvesting, an apple paring, a quilting, a house raising, a wood chopping, a sheep washing, a fish gigging, or a kicking frolic. On an occasion of the latter sort, a hundred yards of new cloth were fulled by being laid on boards placed on the floor of the barn. The cloth was kept drenched with soapy water, and was then stamped on for several hours by barefooted men and women, lads and lassies.

People gathered from within a radius of several miles for the frolic. The demands of the stomach were liberally supplied from

a well-filled table after the work was done. There was always a period of amusement afterwards.

These gatherings were both utilitarian and social. The purely social party was scarcely known, even among the young people. When it did occur, the sports which took place were likely to be rough.

There were still other forms of neighborly assistance. The people of the settlement were usually stout but occasionally some one got down sick. There was a doctor fifteen miles away, but he was less often called than Aunt Polly Bee, who with her native tact in the sick room, and her packages of boneset, chamomile, pennyroyal, and fever few, seemed sufficient for any ordinary emergency. While the simple life rendered the people hardy, and nervous affections were not particularly common, the more serious diseases were more often fatal than with us, because their nature and proper treatment were less understood. Since certain ailments were not known to be contagious they worked no little harm. The crowded homes, and the nonobservance or downright ignorance of proper sanitary care, were responsible for much of the illness, especially among the infants.

When a neighbor was ill or had a broken bone, the neighbors took turns in sitting up with him, and in seeing that his farm work did not suffer. The nearest doctor was the only substitute for the professional dentist, yet all he could do was to jerk out the tooth in blissful ignorance of anaesthetics.

Peace and harmony were not found at all times in the settlement. The persons who disagreed and had trouble over some matter did not take it to the squire or the lawyer at the county seat but met and fought it out. Although it was understood that the battle was to be square and without kicks, the victor might show his temper and his brutality by gouging the eyes of the vanquished, or attempt mutilation of the other. Arrests were seldom made. As the men fought the boys did also.

People went to the schoolhouse to hear an itinerant preacher once a month or met in some home for services. Few of the hearers were members of any church.

The teacher boarded around the district. The schoolroom was well filled during the winter term of three months. It presented

altogether a different scene as compared with the one-room schools of today.

The county seat contained but fifty inhabitants, and the farmer went there no oftener than actually necessary. Every second or third Saturday he visited the new village eight miles away. There he traded for something at the one store, conversed with men he did not meet in his own settlement and took a possible letter or paper from the post office. Of remote portions of the county and of neighboring counties his knowledge was hazy, except for the illumination afforded by strangers who have lodged with him.

The only musical instruments they knew were the "fiddle", accordion, and the jewsharp, with the addition of the drum and fife on musterdays.

The stranger visiting in the settlement was an object of curiosity. The people found out about the person if they could possibly find any way of doing so. Yet they treated him with great hospitality and the other stranger, who had moved into the settlement to stay, was made welcome with a housewarming.

Bachelors and spinsters of long standing were few. The daughters continued to live in the settlement. One of the sons would build a small house on the home farm, and eventually own a half of the place. Another would purchase some wild land, and though it was not easy to raise $100 with which to purchase the hundred acres the parent would come to the rescue although not in a gratuitous way. The third son would go to the newer land of promise toward the Father of Waters. He would never think of turning his steps in the direction from which his grandfather came. He would not think of moving to Pittsburgh, for then it had few workshops.

> The call of the city is a mild voice in 1825. The industries of the land are performed mainly by hand labor, and are carried on in the villages and farmsteads quite as much as in the cities. The people of America are still living in very much the same manner as when the Declaration of Independence was signed.[5]

Life in Preston County today presents altogether a different picture with the many modern conveniences in the homes, electric lights, automobiles, and good roads making it possible for them to reach the important centers.

5. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

CHAPTER II

Religion in Preston County

Although a desire for religious freedom led to the founding of more than half of the American colonies, it would be a great error to suppose the American people were generally religious at the time the settlement of Preston began. A religious feeling was not prevalent in a very vital form during the entire Revolutionary period. The wild freedom of the frontier wilderness was little inclined to observe the salutary restraints of either law or religion. Yet this spirit was only a passing cloud, for the backwoodsman was not so perverse as he presents himself to us of the present day. After the year 1820, there was a very marked change for the better.

The denominational preferences of the settlers of Preston are capable of ready explanation when we look at the characteristics of the elements that people the county.

The first arrivals were mainly of the Scotch-Irish, and this people came to America as Presbyterian. It is to them that the existence of this denomination in Preston is assignable. The very numerous German element was primarily Lutheran, German Reformed, or German Baptist, and all these sects were represented. Members of the Reformed Church were few as compared with the Lutherans, and were absorbed by the latter. The Methodist Church arose in America shortly before the Revolution, and its peculiar fervor struck a very responsive chord, especially in the South. That it heavily predominates in Preston is thus a matter of course. The Methodist Protestants are an offshoot of the parent Methodist Episcopal Church, and the United Brethren and the Evangelicals are also so similar that no special remark concerning them is here necessary. The Baptists have always been a strong and aggressive branch of Protestantism, and it would therefore be strange not to find this denomination present.[6]

The Lutherans were the first to settle in Preston County. The first church in Grant District and the second in Preston County was that of the Friends organized between 1796 and 1812.

Strong for a number of years, the organization shrank in membership to such an extent as to close the doors of its church in 1847. In 1868, the building was torn down.[7]

The Methodists came next. They had class about 1819. The Baptists next appeared.

The German Baptists or Dunkers were the fourth group to come into Grant District and the fifth in Preston County. They are most

6. Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 169, 170.
7. Scrapbook of Preston County History.

numerous in Grant and Union Districts but have organizations in Pleasant, Portland, and Reno Districts. The parent church in Grant, is the Salem, which dates from 1845.

The Church of the Brethren and Methodists predominate in Grant District. The Lutherans have decreased in number. There are a few Baptists.

An enumeration taken about 1913 shows that the Methodist Episcopals had 54 buildings, the Lutherans 11, the Baptists 10, the United Brethren and the German Baptists, each 7, the Methodist Protestants and the Roman Catholics, each 6, and the Evangelicals 4, the Presbyterians 3, the Disciples and the African Methodist Episcopals, each, 1, thus making a total, including the union churches, of 113 in the County of Preston.

CHAPTER III

Some Historical Incidents

One of the most severe calamities to hit Preston County occurred in 1859. A white visitor came during the night of June 3 and the results of the visitation were seen on a Sunday morning.

It was the June Frost.

Although wheat had been selling at advanced prices during the spring of 1859, during the latter part of May the signs of a promising crop caused a drop in the market. Waving fields of wheat could be seen all over the county, for by that time there was much cleared land.

Other crops were good, and with no very serious thoughts of an approaching inter-state war there seemingly was no warning. People observed Saturday by doing their shopping, trading in town, and the various early-summer gatherings that were then popular.

A blanket was all over the county on Sunday morning. Drooping blades and leaves were mute evidence to the slaughter worked on growing things. Fields of wheat that had once flung their heads into the sun, now forlornly bent as if all life had been ruthlessly dragged from them.

The farmers became quite alarmed, but as the sun mounted higher and higher during the day, thoughtful planning slowly took

the place of alarm and panic. Hurriedly, the owners of the once planted fields took off in search of additional grain for seed before the demand for it would cause prices to advance too much. Others took stock, and decided upon a different approach.

Fields were plowed under. Buckwheat, corn and potatoes, although planted late sprouted in fine shape and later in the fall, a plentiful harvest was taken in.

In the fall of 1860 great havoc was wrought among the young by an epidemic of diphtheria, a half dozen children sometimes perishing in a single home. The scourge was a new as well as severe disease, and it almost defied the measures taken to combat it. The next year the infected localities suffered a second visitation though in a milder form.

Almost the only immigrants to Preston County who made use of slavery were men like Fairfax who came from east of the Blue Ridge. There seem to have been no slaves in Grant, Pleasant, and Union Districts and no more than a very nominal representation in Lyon and Reno. There were few in Portland, or in Kingwood Districts, outside the county seat, Kingwood.

The older Virginia looked upon the western Virginia as being different. It sought to prevent a transfer of political power to the westward face of the Alleghenies. The western Virginian folks were in sympathy with the Union. May 23, 1861 the people of Virginia voted upon the ordinance of secession. In Preston the affirmative ballots were 63 and the negative 2,256. A comparison of these figures with the total population shows that few voters failed to go to the polls.

Although Preston County furnished many men and boys to the Union cause during the Civil War, with the exception of a skirmish at Rowlesburg and the firing of a few shots at Terra Alta little action was seen in this county.

Jones' raid was the title given the activity, and while neither the county seat nor Preston County was the main objective, the fact that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, an important link in the communication system between the armies of the west and headquarters in Washington traversed this county led these Confederate raiders to this section.

West Virginia adopted its first constitution in 1862. On June 20, 1863 it became an independent state in the Union.

CHAPTER IV

Historical and Geographical Sketch of Grant District and Preston County

Sandy Creek Congregation is located in Preston County, West Virginia. There are many things of interest connected with this county. Preston County was originally under the jurisdiction of Orange County, Virginia from 1734—1738 and Augusta County from 1738—1776. During the Revolutionary War it became a part of Monongalia County and was under its jurisdiction until 1818 when Preston became a separate county, due to the increasing population of this section of Monongalia County which prompted a desire for the division of the county.

Preston County is one of the fifty-five counties of the State of West Virginia. It is not as homogeneous as the average county. There is but one Preston County in the United States and it lies in a northeastern angle of West Virginia.

Preston County is divided into eight districts and in this history we are mainly concerned with one district in which five of the churches with which the Church of the Brethren are connected, are located. There is one church house in Sandy Creek Congregation which is located in Pleasant District and a schoolhouse in Pennsylvania.

The territory of Grant District was embraced in the First (Magisterial) District when Preston County was divided in 1852. In 1863, in order of division of the county as then made, it became without any change of boundaries, Pleasant Township. By a change of designation merely in 1873, it became Grant District. It is bounded on the north by Pennsylvania, on the east by Maryland, on the south by Pleasant District, and on the west by Cheat River, which separates it from Valley District.

Grant was the first district to become numerously settled. For about seventy years it stood foremost in population, wealth, and development. Until after 1850 it continued to about hold its own. Its relative decadence since then was due to the superseding of the National Road by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The improved roads in recent years have offset this condition.

Grant District was named for the victorious commander-in-chief of the Union armies in the war of 1861.

The early settlers of Grant were mainly of English and Scotch-Irish derivation. Their descendants have in large measure migrated, thus giving place to a steady influx of German families especially from Somerset and Bedford counties in Pennsylvania, so that now the predominant strain of population is of German origin. This later immigration helps to account for the community interest of the people on either side of the state line. In great degree Grant is the parent district whence many families or branches of families dispersed into other portions of the county.

The Sandy Creek Glades

To the region of the Sandy Creek Glades rightly belongs the credit of at least the second, if not the first, permanent settlement on the soil of Preston County.

Jacob Judy settled here in 1769, and the same year on a 400 acre tract of land whose northern boundary was the Mason and Dixon Line, John Cuppy (Cuppett) built his log cabin, cleared his patch of corn ground, and firmly established a "settlement right." Subsequent to this date and by the year 1782, no fewer than seventeen like settlements had been made within this area, around the nucleus of Fort Morris.

Of these, all but two of the pioneers came from Pennsylvania territory, mostly from the vicinity of Philadelphia, York and Lancaster, and thought they were settling on lands owned by Pennsylvania. They were of German extraction and "Pennsylvania Dutch" was spoken as fluently as English.

Both Pennsylvania and Virginia laid claim to this territory. Virginia exercised jurisdiction over a part of Fayette and Green counties of Pennsylvania and held her courts for a time at the home of Theophilus Phillips, (near New Geneva) and as late as 1784 Washington in his last journey across the mountains, found out that Cheat River was not wholly within Virginia territory.

Pennsylvania and Virginia disputed over part of what is now West Virginia territory, but the dispute was finally settled in 1781.

The Mason and Dixon Line was begun in 1767 and extended as far as the northern boundary of Preston when the Indians stopped the surveying party from going farther. A path twenty-four feet wide was cut through the forest by the surveying party, and this afterward afforded a road for the incoming settlers who entered north Preston. Another route followed by the settlers was the old Braddock Road

which at its nearest point was only four miles from the northeast corner of Preston. Over these two routes came the first settlers to the Sandy Creek Glades. From data in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society it appears that the Mason and Dixon surveying party, of which there were a considerable number, were Pennsylvanians, and mostly from Philadelphia, York, and Lancaster counties, and there is very strong reasons to believe that the later settlers in the Sandy Creek Glades gained information of the location of this desirable region from some of the surveying party.[8]

Grant District lies within the celebrated Ligonier Valley. On the east Laurel Hill and on the west Chestnut Ridge loom up, while through the center high and broad-topped hills extend. The surface is broken except in the eastern part, where a high elevated plain, called "The glades", stretch away to the foot of Laurel Hill Ridge.

On the hills the soil may be classed as a clay loam, while along the creek bottoms and on the chestnut ridges, it is a sandy loam and when properly tilled yields very good crops of wheat, corn, rye, buckwheat, oats, and potatoes. The suitability of Grant for tillage is above the average in Preston and there is rather more than the average of good farm buildings.

The Climate

The climate is healthy, but naturally cold in winter from the high elevation of the district. At Glade Farms on the eastern rim the elevation is 2110 feet, at Brandonville, 1798 feet, at Clifton Mills, 1529 feet and at Bruceton Mills 1548 feet. The winters are mostly open and broken with cold spells. The district is well supplied with water. Springs are abundant, and Big Sandy Creek with its tributaries, Laurel Run from the west, and Little Sandy from the East, afforded water power for saw and grist mills at many different points.

Timber

Timber is still plentiful although much of it has been destroyed and hauled away. Oak is most abundant on the hills and chestnut was on the ridges. The chestnut blight has killed the chestnut trees which were very plentiful and were a source of delight for children and older folks too, in the fall when they supplied many chestnuts to be sold and to be eaten around the fireside in winter when the

8. Scrapbook of Preston County History.

snow was falling and the winter wind howled outside. There are many maple trees, not as many as in years gone by, however, which were a source of sugar and also provided building material. The locust trees have been a source of post in mines and for fences and wherever very strong material was needed in building. During the past year the locust blight hit the locust trees and they were dying by the thousands.

Animals

The panther, bear, buffalo, elk, and wolf once roamed over the hills and through the glades. Wild-cats were the last formidable animals to disappear. Deer still remain in limited numbers.

Indian Graves and Trails

Grant District as a hunting ground did not possess sufficient attraction for the dusky sons of the forest to cause them to locate permanently on its soil. Near Bruceton there are one or two large Indian stone-pile graves that never have been opened. Arrows and spear heads are found all over the district. A tomahawk was found on the land owned by the father of the writer. An old Indian Trail came down Big Sandy Creek and McCullough's old path, coming up Big Sandy and passing through Wymp's Gap, was originally the great northern Indian Trail.

Fort Morris

On the land of Richard Morris in the Sandy Creek Glades in 1774 stood Fort Morris. It stood in a glade a fourth of a mile southwest of Glade Farms. The wall was built of sapling logs standing eight or ten feet above the ground and sunk about three feet into the soft alluvial earth. It contained one or two cabins, and here the families fled for shelter at the rumor of an Indian invasion. People from Washington County, Pennsylvania, and from around Morgantown flocked there for safety. When immediate danger seemed past, the men would return to their clearings, leaving their families in the stockade.

The fort was on a run emptying into Little Sandy, graced by the more practical than euphonious name of Hog Run. The correct name is Hogue Run named for Zebulon Hogue. The women and

children drank of the water from the run in low marshy ground and had something like the ague.

A monument now marks its site. The land on which it stands is owned by James Barnes, a son of Fleming Barnes who was an early minister in the Church of the Brethren.

Moccasin Rock

Not far from Fort Morris is Moccasin Rock, which bears its name from the imprint of an Indian moccasin in the rock. It looks as though at some time the rock had been heated and an Indian had stepped upon it.

Cooper Rocks

A little distance from the Monongalia County line and not far from Pisgah are the Cooper Rocks, a spot of repute for picnicing. They were named for Frederick Cooper, who came in the year of American Independence. Here are some huge rock masses that look as though they were in an unstable equilibrium. To outward appearance a not very strong force would pitch them into the chasm below.

These rocks were the subject of a very clever newspaper hoax perpetrated by the late Henry C. Hyde. It stated that some men and boys succeeded in dislodging by levers one of the larger rocks, which took a mad plunge down the river-hill, snapping trees like pipestems and falling with terrific force into the middle of the channel. The effect was to open a crevice in the rock-bed through which the waters disappeared into a cavern. It further stated that the people near by were leaving their homes, fearing the whole mountain was hollow. The Pittsburg dailies were victimized by this cock-and-bull story, and one of them dispatched a member of its staff provided with a camera. When he had arrived near enough to learn the truth, he vented his chagrin in language that had a strong odor of sulphur.[9]

Beautiful scenery can be seen most everywhere. On a bright summer day it is not often surpassed for quiet pastoral beauty. Between the mountains are rounded hills and oblong ridges, sometimes wooded and sometimes grassy. The tracts of fairly level land sometimes skirt the watercourses and sometimes they are lifted above them. There are meadows and tillage fields of every imaginable outline. Dotting the wavy expanse are white frame houses with their shade trees, orchards and gardens and quite large barns.

9. Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 238, 239.

CHAPTER V

Organization of Sandy Creek Congregation

Name and Location

Sandy Creek Congregation was named from "Big Sandy Creek," the stream of water flowing south through its territory.

It is located in the northern part of Preston County, in the whole eastern part of Grant District and northeastern part of Pleasant District.

Originally it embraced part of Wharton and Henry Clay townships in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, and a small part of Garrett County, Maryland.

In 1879 the territory in Pa. and Md. were cut off and organized into a separate congregation, known as the Markleysburg congregation, now belonging to the Western District of Pennsylvania. However it was understood when it was cut off, that those members living in Pennsylvania, along the West Virginia line could hold their membership in the Sandy Creek congregation if they so desired; hence, there are a number of members in Wharton Township, Pennsylvania, that have their membership in Sandy Creek.[10]

This congregation had two regular preaching places in Pennsylvania at the Canaan Schoolhouse and the Guthrie Schoolhouse. At the present time it includes only the Canaan School.

Organization

There is a great difference of opinion by writers as to when the Sandy Creek Congregation was organized. Howard Miller, in the Record of the Faithful, says it began in 1820.

The early history of the Salem Church of the Brethren dates back to about 1830. At that time there was no church building but meetings and the occasional visits into the community by ministers were always occasions for services, which were held in homes of the early settlers. Schoolhouses and even barns were used for services.

One of the homes used for these meetings during the early period of the church was the home of Jacob M. Thomas, who became one of the first ministers.

It is generally accepted by the people of Sandy Creek Congregation that it was organized in 1835 and the Centennial of its founding was celebrated at Salem Church August 11, 1935.

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10. Thomas, Jeremiah, *History of Sandy Creek Congregation.*

There is no record to be found of the organization of the congregation. It is possible that it grew into a congregation, rather than having been made so by any special act or council. It was probably informally organized in 1835.[11]

The first minister known to be elected in Sandy Creek Congregation was John Boger who preached in German. He was elected sometime between 1830 and 1835.

Very soon after the election of John Boger, Jacob M. Thomas was elected to the ministry in 1836 and shortly after ordained to the eldership in 1841, being the first resident elder of the congregation.

Next in order were Andrew Umbel and Michael M. Thomas. Then George Meyers was called who preached in German, but later went off with the sect led by George Shumaker (Shumakers) but in their decline he returned and preached for the Brethren again.

Philip J. Brown and Christian Harader were elected between 1850 and 1855. Following them were Samuel C. Umbel, Larkin Hall and James Bennett. Larkin Hall was a man of ability and a fine scholar who was a great debater. He had an all-night debate with the learned school teacher, Jacob Rush, who afterward became a minister in the Church of the Brethren. Bro. Hall later moved to Iowa. Philip Brown was also a man of considerable ability. He moved to Ohio and later went with the Progressive Brethren. Bro. Harader moved to Iowa and Joseph Reckner and William Thomas were in the congregation for only a short time.

Fleming C. Barnes was elected to the ministry about 1863. He remained until his death in the Sandy Creek Congregation. John S. Hook was elected at the same time. He was somewhat advanced in age when called.

Jacob Beeghly moved here from Bear Creek Congregation, Maryland about 1855. He died in the Markleysburg Congregation.

About 1868, Michael J. Thomas was called to the ministry, labored a number of years, moved to Iowa, and later gave his labors to the Progressive Brethren.

In 1874 Jacob Rush moved from here to Cheat River Congregation after having labored here for several years.

In 1875, Solomon Bucklew moved here from Cheat River Congregation, near Terra Alta and labored for Sandy Creek Congre-

11. *Ibid.*

gation a little over 13 years. Jacob M. Thomas, who had been elder for thirty-five years and now eighty years old, was largely instrumental in having Bro. Bucklew to come here and take charge of the congregation as presiding elder.

Joseph Drennen moved here from Maryland, in 1878, labored here in the ministry for two years, and then moved West.

Joseph Guthrie was called to the ministry in 1880, and was ordained to the eldership.

On January 14, 1882, Jeremiah Thomas and John H. Baker were elected to the ministry. In a few years Bro. Baker moved to Illinois where he died. Bro. Thomas was promoted to the second degree of the ministry, July 4, 1885, and ordained to the eldership March 23, 1889. Eld. Solomon Bucklew was now leaving Sandy Creek Congregation and Bro. Thomas was given charge as presiding elder, and continued in that capacity until his death in 1934.

George W. VanSickle and Vestus Thomas were elected to the ministry sometime before 1898. Bro. Thomas did very little while in the ministry and was later relieved by the church. Bro. VanSickle was ordained to the eldership and is still living in the congregation.

In April, 1905, Calvin R. Wolfe was called to the ministry. Later, he moved to the Markleysburg congregation, where he was ordained to the eldership.

James W. Wolfe and Chester A. Thomas were elected to the ministry in 1913. Later, both of them were ordained to the eldership. Bro. Wolfe moved to Los Angeles, California, where he now resides, while Bro. Thomas is presiding elder in the congregation where he was elected and ordained.

Lloyd Liston was called to the ministry April 6, 1918 and Walter VanSickle was duly ordained in 1919. Both are active in the ministry at the present time.

Many of the ministers were deacons when called to the ministry, especially in the early years of the congregation.

It has been the custom for many years to have a series of meetings at each church in the congregation every year, conducted either by the home ministers, or by ministers called from elsewhere.

Since the organization of the congregation, many ministers have been called to conduct series of meetings, or at least preach a few sermons. Years ago, it was more customary to call a minister to

preach possibly Saturday night, Sunday and Sunday night. Of late years, a series of meetings are held for about two weeks at each church within the congregation.

Through the faithful labors of the home ministers and assisted by the evangelists hundreds of souls have been brought into the family of God. Several ministers and scores of members have been transferred to other congregations.

The places of worship are Salem, Shady Grove, Mountain Dale, and Mountain Grove, and Canaan School. Sandy Creek Congregation also has a part in the union church houses, Glade Union and Union Center.

Communion services are held at two of the churches, Salem and Mountain Dale, each year. The communion meetings are very well attended by the membership. The deacons visit the entire membership each year prior to communion service.

Council meetings are held quarterly in the churches adapted for communion services, and annual councils are held at the others. At these council meetings arrangements are made to hold series of evangelistic meetings each year at all the churches. The membership selects the evangelists to hold these meetings. The home ministers hold some of them, but more frequently the evangelist is called from elsewhere. By this method the territory is well worked.

The Christian Workers Meetings and Vacation Bible Schools have helped to educate and hold the young people. The first Vacation Bible School was held in 1920 with Olive Early of Bridgewater College and Ruth Howe of Blue Ridge College in charge.

Sunday schools are in session each year at all the places of worship. The first Sunday school in Preston County was organized at Aurora in 1825 by the father of James H. Shaffer. After that time they spread rapidly to the other churches in the county. There is no record of when a Sunday school was first organized in Sandy Creek Congregation, but they were probably held at an early date.

A social and prayer meeting was organized in 1898. Bro. Jeremiah Thomas gave the following comments about it in the Gospel Messenger:

> Our social and prayer meeting is progressing nicely. It was gratifying to see our young members take up their cross in these meetings, each one taking his turn in leading. I think the many congregations throughout the Brotherhood, who have not established meetings of

this kind, would do well to do so without delay, and see the good results.

My impression is that too many of our members especially the young feel that they have nothing to do in church work, excepting to be listeners. In the preaching service, and probably scholars in the Sunday school, there being no other meeting established by the congregation in which they can take part. Why not have a social and prayer, or young people's meeting in every church established and guarded by the congregation, so that all, young and old, can have the privilege to exercise in public prayer and talk upon Scriptural topics?

It is surprising to see what improvements many of our brethren and sisters make when they have the opportunity to do so.

My observation is, that many, who, at first, because of inexperience, can scarcely offer public prayer or stand up and speak a single minute on a subject to edification, will, through perseverance, become creditable speakers, and, above all, more fully consecrated to God and more fully educated in the Scriptures.

The young people now have this opportunity in the B. Y. P. D.

Sandy Creek Congregation has always been missionary in spirit although not much money was spent on missions for quite a long time. Many of the ministers were filled with the missionary spirit and traveled on horseback for long distances, gave their time and services free, and bore all expenses of the trips themselves.

Word would come to the better and older organized churches from members who had moved into a new settlement. The ministers would go over rough and winding mountain paths, through dense forests infested by wild and dangerous animals, and often more dangerous Indians, wading or fording rivers and streams to carry the message of Hope and Salvation to the rugged pioneers. Frequently they went by twos, perhaps partly as a means of safety and companionship, but also because it was apostolic.

Ministers went on missionary trips that extended over weeks and sometimes months. They went from settlement to settlement, holding meetings and love feasts.

For a number of years the congregation has been supporting some foreign missionary. First Sister Mary Cline was supported on the China mission field and at the present time the members are supporting Mrs. Lynn Blickenstaff who is working in India.

There has never been a pastor in the congregation. The seven regular places of worship are cared for by the home ministers who are four in number, Chester Thomas, George W. VanSickle, Walter VanSickle, and Lloyd Liston. There is a ministerial program and each minister is responsible for his part of the program which

rotates so that each minister gets to all the places of worship in his circuit. The church provides a small fund from which the minister is paid at each appointment.

Rev. Jeremiah Thomas, in his sketch of Sandy Creek Congregation states its greatest needs as follows:

> Our greatest need is more pastoral or ministerial visitation among the members. Our ministers are engaged in making a living and do not have time for as much visiting in all the homes as would be profitable. Because of this need, we have asked the membership in council assembled, to consider the advisability of securing a pastor who could give his entire time to the work of the church, but they decided that we were not ready for a pastor, as we were getting along very well with our present method.
>
> Considering the size of our territory, it hardly would be possible for one pastor to serve all places of worship, however, if our present working ministers would co-operate with a pastor, more effective work might be accomplished.

There is a fine spirit of unity between the people of the different places of worship. Much that is worthwhile has been accomplished by the ministers and the desire of the congregation is that the cause of Christ may go forward.

CHAPTER VI

Churches in Sandy Creek Congregation

Salem Church

The Salem Church was the first one built in Sandy Creek Congregation. It was built in 1845. This house was 40 x 80 feet, ten feet of the end being partitioned off for a kitchen. Before this time services were held in schoolhouses, dwelling houses, and for large gatherings, barns were often used. Love feasts were frequently observed in large barns.

Salem Church is located in Grant District, Preston County, West Virginia, about four miles northeast of Brandonville.

The old Salem church was replaced by the present one in 1890, after having served its purpose for forty-five years. It was first built 35 x 50 feet, besides the kitchen, and later to accommodate the growing congregation, a wing 25 x 35 feet was added to it in 1914. Electric lights were installed in 1923. Since that time quite a number of improvements have been made in the interior.

The church is on the farm now owned by Elder Chester Thomas. Near it stands the Thomas Schoolhouse. There is a cemetery not far from it on the Noah Thomas farm.

Evangelistic meetings are held here each year. Some 400 members take part in the communion service which is held at the close of the meeting. In 1934 the communion service was changed from Saturday evening to Sunday evening.

It was at this house that the centennial of the congregation was observed in an all-day meeting August 11, 1935. Dr. J. M. Henry was the chief speaker of the day.

Mountain Dale Church

Mountain Dale church house is in Pleasant District, three miles southeast of Hazelton, W. Va. The church house was built in 1896. It is 28 x 40 x 14 feet in size, besides the kitchen. This house is equipped for communion services. It was built to take the place of two services held in schoolhouses.

Mountain Dale church is the only one in the congregation besides Salem which holds lovefeast services. As many as one hundred and sixty persons have taken part there in the sacred communion service.

Evangelistic meetings are held each year. There is Sunday school annually and council meeting is held quarterly.

Shady Grove Church

Shady Grove Church is one and one half miles east of Brandonville, W. Va., on State Route 26. There is a grove of trees which makes it ideal for picnics and reunions.

Shady Grove Church was built in year of 1913. It was dedicated September 14, 1913, free of debt. Bro. D. K. Clapper of Meyersdale, Pennsylvania preached the dedicatory sermon.

The land on which the church is standing was donated by H. F. Goodwin and Mrs. Jones Miller. The money was solicited by Rev. Fleming Barnes before the building was erected. It was through his influence that the church was built. He also picked the location and gave it the name of Shady Grove. The bell was put on the church because he always liked to hear the bell ringing calling the

people to church. He also thought a funeral service seemed more solemn when the bell was tolled.

The size of the church is 26 x 40 feet. The contract for building was given to David Bishoff.

The Willett Cemetery which is now called the Union Cemetery is near the church and therefore many funerals are preached at this place.

Sunday school is held here nine months out of the year. District Sunday school conventions have been held here a number of times in which all the churches in Grant District took part.

Mountain Grove Church

The Mountain Grove Church is five miles northwest of Bruceton Mills. The first preaching done here was in a schoolhouse. The church was built in 1900 to take the place of two services held in schoolhouses. It is 25 x 40 feet in size. The Mountain Dale and Mountain Grove churches are about twenty miles apart.

Canaan Schoolhouse

The Canaan Schoolhouse is two miles north of Clifton Mills in Pennsylvania near the West Virginia line. It is the only place of worship outside West Virginia at the present time in Sandy Creek Congregation. Services were held at the Guthrie Schoolhouse for a time but were discontinued.

Formerly evangelistic meetings were held in the Canaan Schoolhouse. In a letter written by Jasper Barnthouse to the Gospel Messenger which was published January 22, 1889, is found the following account of one:

> I left my home in Garrett Co., Md., on the Saturday before Christmas, and preached at the Canaan, Pa., schoolhouse the same evening. We met again on Sunday morning for public worship, and also Sunday evening when Bro. S. C. Umbel of Markleysburg came to our assistance. We held forth the Word until the following Sunday evening when we closed our meetings. On Monday morning three young sisters and six young brethren were buried in the emblematic grave, confessing Christ as their Savior. Three, who had wandered away from the fold were reclaimed. One applicant for baptism, a young man, is very anxious to go with God's children, but is hindered by his father, who has gone "progressive", and wants his son to go with him.

This he refuses to do. In all, we had ten meetings, receiving 12 into the church. May God bless the young lambs of his fold, and keep them from the snares of the devil!

People from this section attend evangelistic meetings at Salem and Clifton. There is Sunday school each Sunday and services once a month.

Union Churches

Union Center Church

Besides the four church houses named, Sandy Creek Congregation has a one-third interest in two other church houses. Union Center Church is at Clifton Mills in the north central part of Grant District. It was built in 1879. Clifton Mills is a small country village on Big Sandy Creek.

Glade Union Church

Glade Union Church is one fourth mile northwest of Hazelton. At first church was held in an old log building near the present one. Rev. Westfall was a Methodist circuit rider at the time the church house was built. The new one was built by the Baptists, Methodists, and Brethren. The Baptists never used it very much.

Jacob Thomas, Solomon Bucklew, and Jacob Beeghly worked in this church. There has been Sunday school here as much as six months every year and evergreen Sunday school a time or two.

The Methodists have services twice a month and revival meeting once a year. The Brethren have services once a month and revival meeting once a year.

(To be continued)

ATTITUDES OF BRETHREN IN TRAINING CAMPS DURING THE WORLD WAR

KENNETH LONG

INTRODUCTION

In his *Imitation of Christ* Thomas 'A Kempis has made this interesting comment: "For occasions do not make a man frail, but they show what he is." The statement is not without merit. And whether or not we would agree unreservedly with 'A Kempis, certainly we are ready to admit that while the World War may have made the Church of the Brethren's stand for peace neither frail nor strong, it has at least helped us to see what it was at that time. For the World War *was* an occasion when historical peace traditions and convictions wrestled against mass hate, stirring propaganda, intense public opinion. In such a crisis those who dared raise their voice for peace were outstanding. The pacifist was Uncle Sam's sore thumb which demanded no little attention.

It is the purpose of this study to present the attitudes concerning Peace and War which are portrayed in letters written by those members of the Church of the Brethren who were drafted and went to the various training camps of our country. Over two hundred letters written directly from the camps by the boys themselves have been read and studied. The views and attitudes of 93 members of the church are represented. These men lived in different parts of the United States, from Virginia to California, from Michigan to Texas. By far the largest part of these letters were addressed to W. J. Swigart, chairman of the Central Service Committee, a committee appointed by the Special Annual Conference of Goshen in 1918 to deal with the many problems directly arising from the war. In other words, the letters likely present a one-sided view of prevailing opinions, as most of this correspondence came from definite problems arising in the camps. This very fact does mean that the attitudes are very apparent, but represent those mainly in cases of trouble and uncertainty.

Attitudes arise from the combination of two factors. There is the individual himself, his training, education, temperament, ethics,

character. Added to this is the situation in which he is placed, his environment, his treatment, his problem or obstacle. From the interaction of these two factors emerge attitudes. This latter factor is, for the most part, clearly discernible in the letters. Not so the former.

It would be both an interesting and valuable study to make a comparison of attitudes of men in similar situations who had different training. One wonders how the well educated man responded in a given situation compared to one who had received little formal education. How much did parochial training influence the attitudes shown?

Unfortunately we cannot answer these questions with the data available. For in only a very few cases can one know the educational attainments of these men and the same thing is true regarding their parochial training—in both cases far too few to base any accurate deductions or conclusions. The temptation here is, of course, to strive to determine by the style of the letter, the writing, and the general tone, what the educational attainments were and then to work backward from that to what has produced the attitudes. The fallacy is apparent; one starts on an assumption which he then attempts to prove by a reverse in the argument.

This study, therefore, will of necessity be only a presentation of the various attitudes found among the Brethren men in the camps with some observations based on the total picture presented.

The Background

As a background for the study of the attitudes of our Brethren men who were in training camps during the years 1917, 1918, 1919, it will be well for us to observe briefly the conditions surrounding them at that period. Questions such as the following might be raised. What was the attitude of our Church prior to and during the war? What was the attitude of the government toward church people who objected to fighting? What steps were taken by our denomination to solve the problems arising out of the extraordinary situation?

The mind of our Church on this question prior to 1914 can be found by a careful reading of minutes of Annual Meeting. To

summarize minutes scattered over a period of one hundred and thirty-five years one might say that the general attitude of our Church was a positive aversion to war expressed in a negative way —in refusal to bear arms, drill, or participate in any form. *Practically nothing* was done to further peace aside from the pledge at baptism and the exhortation to teach peace. Both of these were largely negative. As early as 1875 it was petitioned Annual Conference "to adopt suitable measures to enable the Church to co-operate actively with the peace association of America." The answer given was: "Our Church itself being a peace association, we need not, as a body co-operate with others, but we may, as individuals, give our influence in favor of peace." In 1911 a peace committee was appointed, but a request to send a representative to the Universal Peace Conference was disapproved. This refusal to co-operate with peace groups seems rather indicative of the general lethargy on this point.

With the outbreak of the war and a Peace committee already appointed there was much more mention of this doctrine in the minutes of Annual Meeting. Those taking the form of resolutions and reports expressed: Our Church's abhorrence of the war and dislike of increasing militarism in the United States; our commendation of Pres. Wilson for his efforts to end hostilities and to keep us out of the conflict; our faith in the Word of God as the only perfect standard of conduct for men and nations; and our belief in judicial arbitration of all international differences. Three queries against militarism and military training were unanimously passed by Annual Conference in 1916. In 1917 W. J. Swigart and H. C. Early were authorized to co-operate with representatives from the Mennonite and Friends churches for the common interest of peace and nonresistance.

A special General Conference was called at Goshen, Indiana, January 9, 1918 for the purpose of considering "the draft for military training and service, the attitude our drafted Brethren should maintain in the training camps, their spiritual care here and in Europe, if any are sent across the sea, relief work, and such other matters as may demand attention."

In a paper adopted by the conference, copies of which were sent to Pres. Wilson, Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, and Provost

Marshal, Gen. Crowder, this statement was made: "We earnestly and humbly pray the President of the United States to assign to us our noncombatant duties in agriculture and the peaceful industries, where loyal and valuable service to our country may be rendered without violence to conscience, and in a way that will avoid unhappy confusion in camps, in the effort to apply the provisions for noncombatant service under the military system, or to do, in harmony with our nonresistant principles, relief work and reconstruction work, here or elsewhere, at the judgment of, and if need be, under the control of the government."

To the drafted brethren in camps the following was issued: "I. We believe that war or any participation in war is wrong and entirely incompatible with the spirit, example and teachings of Jesus Christ.

"II. That we cannot conscientiously engage in any activity or perform any function, contributing to the destruction of human life."

The Foundations of our Belief were re-stated and the Church's attitude toward the government was expressed as loyalty to the leaders who are ordained by God—this loyalty to be superseded only by supreme loyalty to God. The members were urged to pray faithfully for our nation and her leaders; to contribute liberally to the relief of human suffering; to express gratitude to God by giving freely to constructive relief work, such as Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Friend's Relief Work, or through our own Service Committee; to labor strenuously and live frugally, so that the suffering and hungry in the world may be warmed, clothed, and fed.

Furthermore, the conference commended the Brethren in the camps for their loyalty to the position of the Church and enjoined them to continue to be faithful and true. It appointed a committee to look after relief and reconstruction work.

A Central Service Committee, replacing the Special Peace Committee was appointed. Its task was to represent the Church and her interests at Washington, to advise with all committees visiting the training camps and to receive reports from them and help unify the work; to be the final avenue for adjustments of problems of draft, noncombatant work, etc., and to co-operate as seemed advisable with other churches holding views similar to ours. W. J. Swigart

was the chairman of this committee; I. W. Taylor and C. D. Bonsack were the other members.

Camp Visitors were appointed from the various districts to visit the men in the camps and help them obtain proper treatment and advise them as to noncombatant work, as well as to provide for their spiritual well-being in so far as they could.

This, then was the official position taken by our Church. Two factors, however, need to be kept in mind. In spite of the best efforts through the "Gospel Messenger", pamphlets, and peace meetings there were quite a number of men who reached camp without a clear conception of the Church's stand. In addition it must be admitted that these statements made were, at best, general and the individual was forced to put his own interpretation on them. In the second place owing to our democratic form of Church polity opinions throughout the Brotherhood differed widely. For example, in the "Gospel Messenger" of September 22, 1917, p. 594, D. L. Miller writes in an editorial as follows: "Pres. Wilson has placed hospital work and caring for the suffering wounded as noncombatant service. . . . Simply caring for the sick and wounded, feeding the hungry and clothing the naked . . . is fully in accord with the teachings of Jesus. It is always right, and not only right but our duty, to help the suffering, no matter how the suffering has been brought about. When Jesus commended the good Samaritan because he cared for the naked, wounded man by the wayside, he did not favor the robber. The care for the suffering caused by war, is not favoring war."

On the other hand Wm. K. Conner in an issue published January 5, 1918, p. 12, writes: "It is very inspiring to see the firm stand many of you (boys in camp) are taking against becoming a part of the war machine—refusing even to do 'noncombatant service'. I heartily agree with the officers who say there is no such service. What a pity that the Church did not make that declaration! May we all recognize it now!"

A few statements in regard to the attitude of the government toward persons whose religious convictions would not permit them to engage in war are now in order. For the most part the government men were very gracious in their attitude. Especially were the higher officers considerate provided they felt the men were really

sincere and conscientious in their stand. It was not until March 22, 1918 that the President issued his statement regarding what types of service were considered as noncombatant ones in which the religious objector was asked to serve. This long delay made a difficult situation in many camps where some petty officers did not share the generous attitude of their superiors.

In some cases Local Boards refused to classify ministers in V and insisted on Class II B. Occasionally they refused to issue form 1008 to religious objectors. At other places the Boards and officers were unusually considerate, so we find as great a range in attitude here as in that of the church members.

Under such conditions it will be only natural to expect a wide variety of attitudes on the part of the conscientious objectors, and such there were. It is to these that we now direct our attention.

Attitudes Toward the War and Government

With only a few direct references to petty camp officers it would hardly be fair to attempt a generalized statement regarding the attitude of the C. O.'s (conscientious objector) to them. Still the ones expressed show a likeness in their general distrust and misgiving. This comes from a belief that these officers are trying to "work" them into active service by hook or by crook. Let me quote as a typical example No. 6. "They (the officers) lie to us and deceive us in various ways when they can." Another man, No. 11, gives a good and bad example in this statement. "They took my form 1008 and my Church certificate away from me the other night. They went through my suit case. The captain we had was an awful man. But the one we have now is an awful nice fellow. . . . I am praying every day and I feel that there was a change coming." No. 1 made a strong picture, recording a strong attitude of distrust. Said he, "We are going to make the best stand we can, but we think it would be well for someone to investigate our situation at once for you can't risk what an officer tells you, not even his 'death bed' oath." No. 28 shows an unusual attitude and gracious spirit. The war spirit is an awful thing and the C. O.'s are made a "gazing stock" and called the offscourings of the world, "but we love them (the officers) just the same and pray for them."

In regard to the higher officers the attitudes seem more evenly divided with more respect usually shown. In most cases the boys thought the officers were very slow in getting promises carried out. It seemed a common experience of some men to be continually transferred to escape exempting them from combatant service. So No. 39 wrote: "They have transferred me again so you see that they don't intend to give me justice on my exemption." No. 1 remarks, "They took the advantage of us throughout and sent us here as privates with no noncombatant marks at all." No. 49 had a different attitude, "Thursday morning . . . I refused to go out to drill. The captain was up to see me and was very nice. I . . . wondered why there hadn't been anything done about my transfer. He told me there was something being done. . . . The first sergeant came . . . and asked me what was the matter. Monday I was called up to the Fort Adjutant's office. . . . I was much surprised that he did not try to persuade me to take combatant service. . . . he was very courteous."

The few references to our highest war officials, President Wilson and Secretary Baker show an attitude of respect and confidence as well as gratitude for their consideration of C. O.'s. Some impatience was evident at the seemingly long delay before the President pronounced upon noncombatant service. No. 61 probably best represents the general attitude towards these executives. "However the President of the United States has promised all C. O.'s the right to noncombatant service and Bro. —— and I are determined to make use of this splendid privilege." When officers refused to segregate the C. O.'s No. 57 wrote: "Now if this is in accordance with the wishes of the President and Secretary Baker, then I have no complaint to make. If it is not . . . I would like to have you investigate the matter."

No. 28 gives us a more religious point of view and also introduces us to our next sub-division in our study, i. e., the attitude of the C. O.'s toward the government in general. To quote: "I say we cannot thank God enough for our good government we have as I know it is ordained of God. I know the President and Secretary of War have respected our convictions and I know that the Lord has directed them as we have offered many prayers for them."

The boys in camp desired to be loyal to the government. It was

not that they loved the United States less, but that they loved God more. It was a case of conflicting loyalties and they felt that above any government their God should be obeyed. Thus we find No. 73 accurately interpreting the consensus of opinion. "We are anxious to do what we can for our government and still be true to our God." At the same time they desired that the government should give them fair consideration. "I think the government ought to do the right thing by me" states No. 13 during a time of trouble in getting his noncombatant claims recognized.

In some places the C. O.'s were segregated in Detention camps and this they appreciated very much. It was not, by any means, easy for them to stand against the overwhelming opinion of the majority of the men who accepted the army life without question. The militarism on every hand distressed them and the conduct of their fellow men was often revolting. No. 1 had a positive aversion against the unsanitary conditions in which they were forced to live. Venereal disease abounded and the danger of contamination was ever present. No. 25 passes judgment in this sentence, "I want to get out on a farm, this is such a wicked place," while No. 2 observes, "God knows that this is the toughest of all the camps." From this it is easy to infer that none in his experience was very satisfactory.

Yet even so the men still tried to set a good example. "We try to set the boys an example of clean living and high ideals but of course are only laughed at for our sober ways," says No. 64.

One case is outstanding enough to be included in more detail. No. 50 had refused to wear the uniform and when men and officers asked him why he did so he told them his religious convictions. That evening they returned and demanded again that he put on the uniform. When he refused they seized him, put him in a blanket, and took him out of the tent. "They carried me a few rods to the end of the tents, and started with their fun. I don't know how often they tossed me up or how high. And I don't know how many had hold of the blanket. But I was told that all took a hold that there was room for. I held to the edge of the blanket a few times with my right hand and I suppose that had a tendency to throw me on the ground. They might of did it (sic) on purpose and left me fall on the ground for all I know. I noticed that my

arm was broken and I told them that it was. They picked me up and took me to the tent, and called an ambulance. Took me first to the infirmary and then to the hospital. It happened about eight in the evening of the 20th of September. . . . That is about as good as I can tell you about it by writing. I received very good attention since I have been at the hospital."

The letter was written over three months after the accident occurred and the man was still in the hospital, his arm in a cast, and he wasn't sure "if it will straighten out or not." And yet in the whole letter, five large pages, there is no word of condemnation, *no syllable of bitterness or hate.*

Attitudes Regarding the Church

A great variety of attitudes are given regarding the church and her stand, her convictions and faith. Rather naturally none of the letters question whether the peace position is right or not. Those of our Brethren who apostatized and entered into the war without reserve had little occasion to write to our Central Service Committee for help or advice. The questions in the minds of the ones who did write were: Just what is the stand our Church has taken in regard to the war? Noncombatant service? How far shall we go? Should one refuse to do anything at all?

Along with the first came many pleas that the Church might take a firm and more clear cut stand on the issue. Notice the attitude expressed by No. 82. "I have learned that the authorities want us to make a definite stand. Let our stand be supremely for peace, for we cannot do even the least little thing in the military machine and not prolong the war. If we, as a church, want to stand for peace we must stand 'four square'." In close relation to this No. 81 would like to see more positive work done by the brotherhood. "I am very sorry that our church has not gone into the reconstruction work more fully, for that is not only noncombative but is doing something to alleviate and help build up what the war has destroyed. It seems to me that a church like ours should show more interest in a crisis like this, and as we are exposed to war in all its forms we could do more in preaching peace and doing more to bring about peace . . . we are keeping too much in the background and I am afraid that we will get the rep-

utation of being just *objectors* and who wants to be an objector when there is so much to do that is constructive. What a good many of us need is an ability to appreciate the other fellow's position, and not think of our own interests all the time."

One brother was especially interested in the Church setting aside a special day for prayer. He had for some time felt the need for the whole Church to pray for peace, and was continually asking his father to write to the editor of the "Gospel Messenger" and suggest this. Accordingly his father did so. But the editor felt that he had no authority to do this, so stirred by his son's insistence the father wrote to Bro. J. H. Moore and asked him to do what he could. Bro. Moore sent the father's and the son's letters to W. J. Swigart with a note of explanation. This correspondence was dated during the latter part of October. So it came about that in the "Messenger" of November 9, 1918 was included an article, "A Request and An Appeal," the first paragraph of which I quote:

> Impressed with a deep personal desire and having received suggestions from others, the Central Service Committee of the Church of the Brethren makes request that on Sunday, Nov. 10 special and united prayers be made in behalf of the righteous termination of the war and a speedy return of peace to the earth.

Meanwhile the son, No. 43, wrote in reply to a letter from Bro. Swigart. "I certainly am glad that you are setting aside a special day that our whole church may unitedly go to God in prayer and ask that peace might reign on the earth again." The day following the Armistice he observed, "I surely believe God has heard . . . and has already begun to answer our prayers."

One more reference might be in place. In a letter dated November 16, this same brother expresses the wish that we might "have special prayer in behalf of this (peace) conference in the near future, for I believe it will have lots to do with peace." Twenty-one years later we realize more truly how much in need of guidance that peace conference had been!

Loyalty is shown in letters such as No. 13 penned. "Find enclosed $5.00 as you didn't tell me what your expenses were. If you have spent more let me know. As I don't want our Church to pay for my expenses." No. 65 had an interesting way of expressing it, although it might be interpreted a bit pugnaciously. "I solemnly

respect my vow to the church not to take direct part in war or bloodshed and if I were forced to continue here I would defend it with my life."

One or two were not completely satisfied with what the Church was doing in their cases. It was already two weeks since No. 14 had written for help and none had come. "I can't understand," he says, "why the church doesn't stand back of us. We have told the officers here that we had the support of our respective churches and so far no evidence has been produced of the veracity of this statement. This morning three of the C. O.'s were put in the Guard house and it is only a question of time until the fate of the rest is sealed."

Two cases are recorded where the home church gave positions which the C. O.'s thought were not in accord with the Brotherhood's convictions. "Last night," writes No. 56 telling of a companion's problem, "he got a letter from ——— congregation advising him to take up some kind of noncombative. I don't see how they can take this view of the war against the church principles. It seems like our church is just a little lenient on this war question. I think she should come out and declare herself just what she stands for as the Mennonites and Friends do. . . . It is certainly discouraging to ——— when his own home Church doesn't encourage him in his stand. If our Church gives in in this war the government will not recognize her at all in future wars."

The men were always eager for the camp visitors to call upon them. They looked forward to the same and were grateful for the service done to them. Next to the Central Service Committee their help and advice was most respected. But occasionally the men did not agree with the advice given. After two brothers had called and advised noncombatant service No. 22 wrote a bit unkindly to W. J. Swigart: "It seems like it isn't our place to be in service and this is the reason I am writing for men's advice that I can put confidence in."

No. 18 observed that "our ministers who come here to see us look at the matter so differently (from Mennonites who stand behind their boys). Judging from both the preachers and the boys it is a little hard for the officers to decide whether or not to class us as objectors. I should say that some of our ministers who come

have apparently not given the matter much study as we succeeded in getting them to see things somewhat differently after telling them what our experience had been."

Now and again the men were inclined to think that the camp visitors were a bit negligent in their activities on their behalf. "I can't help but feel that our committee is a little slack, perhaps I am wrong, tho' I know they are very busy," writes No. 86 wishing to give them the benefit of the doubt.

In the Central Service Committee the men found their chief source both for advice and for obtaining their rights. Here our evidence is more nearly unanimous. The attitudes are two: Confident expectation of sound advice or efficient service, and sincere gratitude for such advice and service already given. In a quotation from No. 65 we find these two attitudes combined. "I feel to thank you heartily for the action you have taken in helping me to secure my rights in the army. I assure you I will remember your kindness . . . . Please do all within your power to get action done before we leave here, because you can appreciate my anxiety and concern in the matter."

Using sound psychology, although he likely never heard of that word No. 21 states persuasively, "I am not going to ask you to come down, but it has been nearly two months since you were here." After some deliberating No. 42 says, "Mr. ——— and I have decided for you and Bro. ——— to be our advisors. We will try our best to keep you posted as to where we are located."

The four references to the "Gospel Messenger" show in four ways how the men in the camps valued it and used it. No. 21 followed advice given through its columns; No. 24 can't learn what he as a C. O. should do as he has failed to get the paper for three weeks. Through the "Messengers" sent to him by his mother No. 87 manages to keep himself "pretty well posted;" while No. 89 closes a letter to the editor of the same "With kind regard to yourself and all the folks who help publish our excellent 'Messenger'."

Attitudes Regarding Themselves

A large part of the C. O.'s attitudes were moulded by their treatment and it is interesting to try to determine the general re-

sponse to suffering in so far as they themselves are personally concerned. Much was endured but it is very difficult to ascertain how they regarded it. It would be fair to say that all felt the injustice of it, but this was so evident they do not dwell upon it. Certainly none openly sought punishment. The nearest thing we have to the martyr complex is suggested by No. 28 when he says, "I know the more I am persecuted the better and closer I get to Christ. I believe the Lord has us here for a purpose."

There is resignation felt as No. 33 writes of his refusal to drill along with other C. O.'s. "The captain had the others to beat us every day until we had to go to drilling. . . . We no (sic) they have no right to do so, but we can't help ourselves. . . . We showed our card to the captain and he made us taire them up."

A contrasting note of triumph comes from Fort Leavenworth where No. 91 was sentenced. He writes: "I am getting along as well as can be expected behind stone walls and iron bars. In the eyes of the military authorities I am a criminal, but the day I passed through the iron gates an honor was bestowed upon me and when the time comes for me to be dishonorably discharged, I will be honored again."

Much more were the men concerned about the future. In most cases the present treatment could be endured, but what of the future? Fort Leavenworth via a court martial or combatant service and going across to the actual fighting were the Scylla and Charybdis between which they endeavored to steer their course, and at the same time remain loyal to God, their conscience, and, as much as possible, the government.

No. 43 showing some signs of anxiety which doubtless gave rise to his insistence on a special day of prayer, noted earlier, writes: "I came here against my will as I said before. I was afraid I got started wrong and now I feel it more than ever. I have been trying to get transferred, but haven't made much headway. I am awful anxious for Bro. M. C. Swigart to call on me as I feel if I could get help right away I could get through all right."

He who was No. 21 sees difficult times coming. Says he, "I have just been transferred from the depot Brigade to the artillery. There is trouble ahead just now for me. I mean to make a stand God helping me. . . . I want to be with the Hosp. Corps, not as

a noncombatant with combatants. . . . I was almost ordered to do guard duty. But the order was withdrawn. I intended to say no.

"We are in quarantine but they will drill us.

"Oh my!" Later he writes again. "I was to the intelligence on Sat. evening and I fear I signed the wrong papers. It is all right if the officers are all right, but I am afraid they can make an ammunition carrier of me. But I was weak and they were sharp."

The separation from the fellowship of the church was no little item. No. 12 remarks expressing the views of a good many. "We feel utterly alone here. We have been earnestly praying for help and none has come. Please do something immediately."

Yet in spite of their concern over the uncertainty of coming events the majority of men expressed a faith in God that was vital and strengthening. No. 21 in another letter states it in this way: "Now I may have done some of these things in a clumsy manner but I did the best I knew at the time.

"As I said before I do not know what will be next but I trust God will take care of me in life or death—to him I leave it . . . ."

The largest or most important problem of the C. O. was that of noncombatant service. Is there such a thing as noncombatant service? If so, what is it? Where is the line to be drawn? Merely at taking human life? What of drilling? Wearing the uniform? Is reconstruction work under government direction consistent with our stand as a church? These were some of the questions the C. O. had to answer. A study of the chart will immediately show the great variety of attitudes expressed. One half of the men either accepted or were willing to do some form of noncombatant work such as serving in the Medical corps, the Quarter Master corps, or the Remount Station. Over against this 15 expressly refused to do any noncombatant work. The other 30 were undecided or did not state their views definitely enough for classification. No. 81 had evidently given the matter much thought before he wrote: "You know I have changed my mind about these things quite a bit, although I cannot tell many people about it for it is not everyone that understands, but the condition of affairs has gotten so that it seems to me that everyone should endeavor to help in some way or other. There are so many different departments that one can have

a variety of things to choose from and if a fellow is really sincere it seems to me that he can find something to do that will not interfere with his conscience."

The period between the outbreak of the war and the declaration of President Wilson was an anxious one for many of the C. O.'s. In several camps special detention barracks were provided. Here the C. O.'s were segregated and awaited the President's statement. During this time they did nothing but take care of their camp doing the cooking, cleaning up, etc., and also exercised enough to keep physically fit. Most of the men agreed with No. 1 who said that the "best place for us boys is in a detention camp until some action is taken by the war department." A number were glad to accept noncombatant service from the very beginning, however, especially those who were first placed in combatant service and succeeded in getting transferred. When the President finally did declare on noncombatant service, there were immediately varying attitudes. What about the service the President declared as noncombatant wonders No. 79? "Most of the boys here I don't think will accept anything under the military arm. . . . These fellows hold that to do this work is the same as bearing arms. . . . You would do me a favor if at your earliest convenience you would give me the position of the Church and your opinion."

In contrast No. 49 says, "On account of the statement of the President being so plain I have no fear of being forced into combatant service. On this account I have also decided to accept the uniform. While I do not question the decision of the men who have gone to a detention camp, the idea is repulsive to me. The monotony I should think would be the most tiresome. I should prefer to be in some capacity where my mind and body would be busy, provided, of course, it was some line of work where I could labor with a clear conscience."

No. 69 used this system. "I have taken all the work given me, at the same time making it clear and plain to the officers that it was against my conscience. That is some of the work." It worked to his satisfaction, too, for at a later date he states: "I was given everything I asked for. I asked to care for the sick and wounded. Surely that was the work assigned to me as an orderly in the ward.

I have been treated O. K. ever since I arrived and have not had hard 'sledding'. And now that I have my job I am going to try to make good."

We must not overlook the absolute objectors. At least five men refused to do any work whatever, not even fatigue duty about the camp. Here is the way they looked at it. "The reason I have not accepted any service," quoting No. 82, "whether combatant or noncombatant is because both of these capacities are a constituent part of the military machine. One part will not work without the other. If I wear the uniform I am advertising militarism and that is absolutely inconsistent to our principles of nonresistance, and as you know yourself that Baker knew that fact and has said we are not required to wear the uniform. . . . Again in accepting any form of military service a military oath or affirmation must be taken, if, then, after affirmation has been taken, and a person refuses to obey some order that he feels is against his conscience, he is, at once, subject to court martial.

"Furthermore, if even we should accept hospital service the regular military drill must be engaged in. This we cannot do for our church has said that we are not to learn the 'art of war'. I and others are living up to this, and upholding the standard of the church, but we cannot do it alone. We want you and the entire church with us."

No. 18 says: "It is hard for many to understand why we cannot accept Medical service. In fact I came very near doing it at one time, but one is 'not their own' anywhere in the service and to me II Cor. 6:14-18 is good advice."

In the case of No. 35 after he had worked at the Base Hospital and later in the Quarter Master corps he decided he couldn't do any work at all for the officers told him that all work was combatant. Therefore he has been charged with violating Article of War 64 and is being held awaiting his trial. He has laid aside the uniform.

The uniform was a problem. Direct reference in the letters tell us that 17 men accepted it while only 7 refused it. No. 15 doesn't object to wearing the uniform but "I do object to being placed . . . where I may be called at any time to do combatant service." No. 12 is "wearing the uniform but I positively will not bear arms

nor drill." The main objection to the uniform was that it advertised the war and military spirit as No. 82 has already suggested.

In regard to drilling the men were more obstinate, as might be anticipated from the quotation just given. Five tell us they accepted it, at least some, six more did but only after severe punishment while ten refused outright. Standing guard and bearing arms were incompatible with the C. O.'s. Yet one or two needed help here as the case of No. 13 indicates. He was compelled to drill and the officer said he would have to take a gun when they told him to or he could be shot. "So you see when they offer me it I will hafto take it and drill. . . . So please advise me what to do in this case. As I can't do anything within my selfe."

Only the extreme of the extremists spoke against farm furloughs. Nineteen were in favor of this work. No. 76 suggests that "If there is any chance at all I would like to be furloughed on a farm, for I don't feel like I can conscientiously do anything else but I made the mistake when I signed up to work here in the Q. M. but they told (me) to sign for it and I did it but I tried to urge that I be furloughed on a farm somewhere but it seems that it didn't do any good." Another brother, No. 85, doesn't want anything under the military arm and he feels farm work would be under it. He would like to get into mail service.

Five wrote letters of inquiry about reconstruction and in no letter was there any trace of doubt as to the advisability of doing this work, although some of the absolute objectors would likely have refused to do that under government supervision.

No. 6 writes after the Armistice has been signed in regard to this work and wonders "if the chance is still open, because I feel able to do the work, and willing to make the sacrifice of a year's time to do it." He goes ahead at some length to describe his abilities in various lines of work.

Having been sentenced to Fort Leavenworth No. 61 says: "In regard to the Reconstruction work I presume the committee has done practically nothing. . . . If we apply for a furlough for Reconstruction work it seems to me that the church should be prepared to take care of us and send us across at once if released. . . . I am more than willing to do farm work but I think Relief work better shows our Christian spirit and our willingness to sac-

rifice in order to help carry the burdens of the world as true Christians."

These conscientious objectors had faith and convictions and frequently expressed the same in their letters. They were loyal to the church and to their own consciences. So No. 29 could write: "I have never refused to work at nothing what I thought wasn't against the rules of the church of the Brethren." Another one remarks (No. 65), "In my conversations with them (officers) I have upheld our doctrine and never wavered. . . . May we ever be faithful to our God and to our country where possible."

The men realized that their stand would affect the position of the church and were concerned that it might be for the best. Thus No. 53 gives expression to this idea. "If we go into extremes too much we might cause some unnecessary trouble and that possibly the government would not be so considerate to our people after this." Of course the problem was that of determining where the "too much" extreme began.

When a number of C. O.'s were confined in the Guard house after having been run hard and then made to stand at attention for several hours one writes: "The situation is rather acute, however the boys are standing firm, for that which they believe to be right. I'm inclined to think that such treatment is almost punitive hardship. . . . Everyone of our Brethren boys have stood firm." Later when this group was up for trial for breaking Articles of War 64 and 65 No. 62 has another paragraph indicative of the attitudes of these Brethren. "The boys felt as if they didn't want an advocate or counsel as this is only a trial, a test of Christian faith and principles and they didn't care to make a fight of it. Of course they will plead guilty of disobeying an order, and whether it is lawful is to be found out yet. The boys are feeling good, cheerful and hopeful, knowing they are standing firm in the Lord." Another month passed and one of these tells W. J. Swigart that he has seen his (own) name in the paper as having received a ten year sentence to Fort Leavenworth culminating in a dishonorable discharge. Nevertheless, "I am as certain as ever that no true Christian has any place in the Army." (No. 61.)

In several camps the men held prayer meetings regularly and their letters give ample evidence of the value and help they de-

rived from personal and group communion with God. No. 87 says simply: "I have been doing right and reading in my Bible daily and pray . . . every night and ask Him to forgive all of my sins and to guide and strengthen me through this terrible war and army. And I know that God will never forsake any of us if we live as near to him as we can."

Let us close with a glimpse of an attitude developed through camp life which led to a broader, more comprehensive view of Christianity. The C. O.'s were of several denominations and as is often the case a common cause brought a new feeling of brotherhood. Here is how No. 61 admirably describes it.

"We at camp live much on the community plan. Each one's belongings, news, etc., are very much in common. Churches have long since dropped from minds and it is the man we love. Creeds are forgotten, differences of opinions are charitably borne which I think is a Christian grace that too many church members don't exercise."

Observations and Conclusions

Certain observations may be made after noting the attitudes of these conscientious objectors. But always reservations must be held. For as has been stated this study does not include all the men coming from Dunker homes into the training camps. There is no way of knowing how many joined the army with no tinge of conscience and were swallowed up in the very immensity of it. Again, these letters do not come from all the C. O.'s of our Church, although it is probable that the majority are here represented. Finally, we must remember that most of the letters arose out of specific needs, usually a need of help in time of trouble, and so are not as unbiased nor as complete as personal friendly letters or diaries would have been. Still the following observations may be ventured.

It is apparent that our Church members have been taught to respect and honor our government. Whether the Church is directly responsible or not the fact remains. In no letter do we find disrespect or bitterness against the nation. The absolute objectors may differ violently in their beliefs. The men may dislike the treatment of certain officers and officials. The C. O.'s may become

impatient with the seeming slowness in providing transfers and certificates. Yet the nation and government were loved and respected. It was not animosity towards the state that made the C. O.'s refuse to join the army. It was their hatred for war and bloodshed.

Again and again is expressed the desire to find some way in which loyalty may be expressed to the government without disobeying the higher loyalty to one's conscience and one's God. And many of those who refused to do anything and went to Fort Leavenworth did so believing that by so doing they were proving most loyal to their country.

This attitude of respect and honor to the government is surely commendable.

There is likewise clearly discernible a loyalty to the Church which is wholesome. It is true that this took various forms and degrees. As to exactly what constituted loyalty was not entirely agreed upon, but the essence of loyalty was there. No one would say that mere unenlightened loyalty is enough, but the quality itself is essential. Part of this loyalty was engendered, no doubt, by the helpful and efficient service of the Church to these men. Here the Central Service Committee is to be especially honored.

On the other hand it is evident that the Brotherhood's stand was not as united nor as clear as many of the C. O.'s desired. This is to be expected in as democratic an organization as we have. Yet it would be fair to say that had the Church declared herself more clearly and had so instructed her Camp visitors and the conscientious objectors those who were weakest might have been more strong while those who were convinced in their own minds would have continued faithful in their beliefs.

Finally it is to be observed that the Church in her stand was on the defensive almost altogether. Her greatest concern was to keep her members out of the war. In a country at war, it may be argued, there is little that can be done for peace in a positive way. It was apparent, however, that our peace work had been largely negative before the war, for we were not able to turn to reconstruction work as easily as did the Friends. Serious thinking C. O.'s realized this fact as their letters have indicated and wished

for the Church a more aggressive and positive position in this field of peace.

In conclusion let us say that the World War was an occasion which made the Church neither strong nor weak but helped us to see how effective our peace teaching and doctrine has been. And this deeper insight points us to the need of developing a more positive and aggressive program to help bring about the reality of peace on earth.

APPENDIX

Classification of Conscientious Objectors into classes as Evident from Their Letters as Studied by Kenneth Long.

Absolute Objectors (refuse to do anything at all)	6
Those refusing all noncombatant work such as Quarter Master Corps, Medical Corps, but occasionally did a little fatigue duty, cleaning up the camp, etc.	11
Accepted (or were willing to accept) noncombatant work as outlined by the President	49
Those refusing uniform	7
Those accepting uniform	17
Those refusing drill	10
Those who accepted drill only after severe punishment	6
Those accepting drill	5
Favorable to furloughs	19
Favorable to reconstruction work	5

In all cases these figures represent only those men who stated in their letters their position clearly. Some who stood with the first two groups later accepted noncombatant work and therefore are classed in the third group, i. e., accepted noncombatant work as outlined by the President.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

AN HISTORICAL SOCIETY ORGANIZED

After several years of discussion and everybody agreeing that it ought to be done, a meeting of those interested in forming an historical society met in one of the offices of Bethany Biblical Seminary. When the meeting was called to order there were eight (!!) persons present. But upon computation it was found that the number who were fully informed and actively enlisted in the project totaled thirteen (!) persons. We are not superstitious.

After F. E. Mallott had been called to the chair and Susie M. Thomas was appointed secretary pro tem the meeting proceeded to a leisurely and enthusiastic discussion and organization. The organization issued in the following officers: F. E. Mallott, President, E. S. Moyer, Vice-President, Mrs. Ruth Mallott, Secretary-Treasurer, additional members of the Executive Committee, Ira Scrogum, Chalmer Faw. The Executive Committee was instructed to draft a tentative constitution incorporating the ideas agreed upon in the meeting. This they did on April 21 and the result of their draft is presented in this issue.

The organizing group decided to hold open the organization until after Anderson Conference of the Church of the Brethren, at which place a public invitation to membership in the Society would be issued.

Tentative Constitution of the Alexander Mack Historical Society

Article I.—Name.

The name of this society shall be Alexander Mack Historical Society.

Article II.—Purposes.

The purposes of this society shall be:—

1. To encourage the serious study of Dunker history.

2. To promote the publication of historical studies and studies in allied fields that are related to Church life.

3. To stimulate interest in the preservation of our historical landmarks and in the erection of memorials; to encourage the development of library and museum facilities as they relate to Dunker history.

4. To foster fellowship among those interested in history who regard themselves as spiritual descendants of the brotherhood founded at Schwarzenau.

Article III.—Membership.

The membership of this society shall consist of three classes as follows:—

1. Subscribing Members shall pay dues of one dollar per year and be entitled to receive the journal of the Society.

2. Sustaining Members shall pay dues of five dollars per year and be entitled to receive all publications of the Society and shall be entitled to vote in the business meetings. The Executive Committee may grant Sustaining Memberships in return for services rendered. A Sustaining Membership for life may be secured by payment of One Hundred Dollars to a fund designated by the Society.

3. Honorary Life Membership may be granted by a vote of the Society and carries with it the privilege of voting.

Article IV—Organization.

Section 1.—The officers of this society shall be President, Vice-President, and Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2.—The Executive Committee shall consist of the three officers and two additional elective members.

Section 3.—The duties of the officers shall be those that commonly pertain to their respective offices.

Section 4.—The term of all officers shall be one year or from one regular business meeting to the next except the Secretary-Treasurer who shall be elected for three years.

Section 5.—The Executive Committee shall appoint a nominating committee of two, at least three months before the Business Meeting. The poll of the society shall be by mail and the result announced at the Business Meeting.

Section 6.—The regular Business Meeting shall be held annually, the time and place to be decided by the Executive Committee. The members at a regular Business Meeting shall constitute a quorum.

V.—Publications.

Section 1.—The journal "Schwarzenau" is declared to be the official journal of the Society.

Section 2.—The editorial staff of the journal shall be chosen by the Executive Committee with the approval of the Society.

Section 3.—The Society shall assume the financial responsibility for the journal as they are able and the Secretary-Treasurer shall disburse all money at the direction of the Executive Committee.

VI.—Amendments.

This tentative constitution will become the permanent constitution of the society by an affirmative vote at the Business Meeting of 1940. Thereafter it may be amended at any regular Business Meeting by a two thirds vote, provided the notice of intention to amend with the proposed amendment has appeared in the journal, at least a month before the Business Meeting convenes.

BOOK REVIEWS

Die Deutschen Familiennamen by Dr. Paul Cascorbi. Sold by Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses.—Berlin, Germany—$6.25.

This is a volume published in Berlin in 1933 and is a recent addition to the Bethany library. It is the result of the continued research in the field of German family names, first published in 1882 by Dr. Heintze and here revised in its seventh and enlarged edition by Dr. Cascorbi. It is based on the researches of many scholars and is supported by a substantial bibliography.

The material of the book consists of a hundred pages of stimulating discussion of the nature and development of family names throughout Europe. There then follows 430 pages more consisting of an exhaustive dictionary of German family names.

It is first pointed out how family names serve as a mirror of the spirit of a people. For these names often contain early words which have long since gone out of current usage. But they have become fixed in the form of family names and thus represent one of the most basic philological sources of earlier culture. Accordingly the Greek names suggest imagination and an idealistic flair. We have *Pericles* (very famous), *Sophocles* (famed for wisdom) and *Euagoras* (excellently spoken of). The old Roman names show the marks of a practical spirit. They include *Agricola* (farmer), *Porcius* (swineherder), *Rufus* (the red one), *Tertius* (the third one), and *Octavianus* (the eighth one). Hebrew names are laden with religious significance. There are *Nathanael* (God-given), *Elieser* (my God is help), and *Obedia* which is the equivalent of the Arabic Abdullah (servant of God). The German names speak of the early days of war, of battle, of weapons, of victory, and of heroic struggle. The name stems *Hild-* and *Wig-* referred to war and battle and so we have *Hildebrand, Brunhilde, Wigand,* and *Lodewig.* The old German throwing spear was *ger* and that leads to *Garibald, Ansgar* and *Osgar.* The shield was called *rand* and so we have *Bertrand.*

German family names are classified according to origin. There are, first of all, those family names coming from the early pre-Christian personal names. They were at first not inherited by the son from the father but later on came to be used, not only as personal names, but as the fixed family name and continuing through the generations as they do today. They include the list of warlike names above together with many other types. There are animal names like *Eberhard* (Eber, wild boar), *Arnold* (Aar, eagle in old German), *Wulfila, Wolfgang, Woelfkin* (Wolf, wolf) as well as the names of the mythological names of the ravens who were the servants of Wotan. There are God-names like *Gottlieb, Godfrey, Godwin,* and *Goddard.* An older name for God (Asen, ans, ôs) shows up in such names as *Anselm, Anson,* and *Oswald.*

Then there are, in the second place, those family names based on personal names which came in during the Christian era. These would include both Hebrew names on the one hand and Graeco-Latin names on the other. So we have *Paulus, Petrus, Johannes, Jacobus, Philippus, Michael, Christoph, Georg* with their many varied forms. A good example would be the case of *Johannes*—which appears to come from the Hebrew and to mean

"whom God has favored"—which shows up all over Europe in the varied forms of John, Jean, Yohn, Jon, Jan, Ian, Ion, Giavanni, Ivan and the patronymic forms of Johnson, Jansen, Fitz-John, Ivanovitch, and the Welsh Jones which used to be spelled Johan's.

All these personal names, whether German, Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, continued to be used as personal names even after they came also to be fixed as family names. Indeed the practice of christening has had much to do in the spread of the names brought in during the early years of the Christian era. But later the early German names came again to the fore even in the Church. By the time of the Crusades the Christian names were largely German again.

One of the earliest ways in which these personal names came to be used as family or surnames (as contrasted with personal or christening names) was the use of patronyms whereby the son would be designated as the son of the personal name of the father. This was an ancient custom especially prevalent among the Semitic people with the Hebrew *Ben-*, the Aramaic *Bar-* and the Arabic *Ibn-* which are familiar to us in Benjamin, Benhadad, Benoni, Barabbas, Barnabas, Bar-jonah, Ibn Khalid, Ibn Khaldun, and Ibn Saud. This shows up in the European usage by the addition of "son" to the name or by the genitive form of the fathers' names. So we have Gabrilovitch, Johnson, Hansen, McDonald, O'Connor, Fitz-Hugh, Williams and Davis.

The third class of family names are based on additions to or qualifications of these earlier personal names of the above two classes. Among the many such names at least three distinct groups can be seen. There are names of position or occupation. These are the equivalent of our very prevalent trade names and include the butcher: Fleischauer, Schlachter, Fleischmann, Metzger, Metzler, and Wurstler; the carpenter: Zimmerman; the merchant: Kauffman; the mason: Steiner, Steinhauer; the smith: Schmidt, Messerschmidt, Eisenhauer, Schmelzer; the tailor: Schneider; the tile-maker: Ziegler; the weaver: Weber. It would also include the town officers Schulze, Meier, and Richter, i. e. mayor and judge. Other names of this sort would be Bucher, Buchfeller, Rothmaler and Drucker of the publishing business, Weidmann and Jaeger of the chase, Hoffmann, Bauer, and Ackerman of the farm and Geiger, Pfeifer and Rohrer of the town band.

A second group of this third class are names of place or origin. Here would fall all the "von" names of the Fatherland which are used so lavishly among those who can affect them. There are other names ending in "-er" which are also place names such as *Schweitzer, Hamburger, Wiener,* and *Frankfurter.* The majority of the names based on origin or place are those which contain significant suffixes like: *-bach* (brook), *-baum* (tree), *-berg* (mountain), *-brück* (bridge), *-burg* (citadel), *-dorf* (town), *-feld* (field), *-haus* (house), *-heim* (home), *-hof* (manor or court), *-thal* (valley, dale), *-wald* (woodland). Many of these names show up with the ending *-er* in addition to the above stem endings. So we have Brubacher, Shamberger, Kochendorfer, Schwenkfelder, Niederhauser, Weltsheimer and so on.

The third group of this third class would be called "characteristic" or nick-names. These are very familiar in the form of Jung and Alt, Lang and Kurtz, Gross and Klein, Weiss and Schwartz as well as Grosskopf,

Rotbart, Krumbein, Stolsfusz. Closely related to these names would be parts of the body like Mund, Haar etc., and pieces of clothing like Rothrock and Holzschuh.

The fascination of these name lists is almost endless and there are good reasons why our readers would be profited by the volume under review. It is very suggestive material for the principles involved in the growth of words and the development of language. It gives glimpses into the psychology of personal names and the sociology of family names. The study of these names is enlightening in the tracing of population migration. And this book would be invaluable as a background for the study of genealogy. Members of the Church of the Brethren are thoroughly German in genealogical background. And the names in this dictionary read almost like the Brethren Yearbook. We are a folk of strong clan consciousness or Freundschaftgefühl in our veins and we would do well to collect and arrange much of the genealogical material now still existing in the memories of the older members of our group. This book will help much to awaken our interest in this field of research. 10 May 1939.

Chicago, Illinois. William M. Beahm.